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CLASSICAL

DISQUISITIONS

AND

CURIOSITIES,

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL.

BY

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TO

MY FORMER PUPILS.

I INSCRIBE the following pages to you, in the hope that they will remind you of times, persons, and places, not devoid of interest in your estimation. Various are the topics, direct and collateral, which have been the subject of enquiry and discussion between us, arising out of our classical reading. I perhaps have not overrated the measure of your respect and favourable opinion, in supposing that an attempt on my part to continue our literary intercourse will not be unacceptable to you. On this presumption, I have devoted my intervals of leisure for the last six months, to the collection and examination of many passages, of more or less ordinary occurrence, with a view to illustrate the bearings of ancient upon modern taste, literature, and opinions, and to encourage you to a more varied and extensive acquaintance with Latin and Greek authors, than falls within the compass of school instruction or public lectures. That this collection consists of articles, neither connected in subject nor of consecutive arrangement, is at once explained, and I trust justified, by the consideration that none but leisure hours could with pro-

priety be devoted to their production. Had the work aspired to the dignity of a regular treatise on any given subject, Horace's term of gestation would not have been too long for its final developement: but in detached essays, of more humble pretension, where the mind of the writer shifts rapidly from theme to theme, there seems to be little gained by the anxieties of minute revision, or the hesitation necessary to more important lucubrations. In the papers now submitted to you, light and serious topics are alternately treated; such as they are, with all their imperfections, they are the result of that miscellaneous reading, which forms the occupation and amusement of my privacy, in furtherance of my public teaching.

But you will expect me to address you in the language of apology, not only for the deficiencies of the present attempt, but for the undue execution of an important trust, if you believe what you have of late been frequently told. It seems to be the fashionable doctrine among the philosophers, that the system of our public schools does not keep pace with the advancement of the age; and that its victims are thrown upon the world, without any preparation for its serious business, without any clue to those paths in which they are individually to walk.

Before I attempt to repel this charge, I must observe generally, that in these days of free discussion, the lust of innovation keeps pace with the spirit of improvement. Ancient systems and established practice are convenient foils to the novel

conceptions and bold theories of speculative men. Projects of education run a race with steam-engines and rail-roads. Schools and universities are voted to be slow coaches: and then comes forward a prospectus, undertaking to teach all the professor knows of Latin and Greek in a month; to give a bird's-eye view of the whole circle of sciences in a year; and to fortify the youthful mind against all the temptations of the world in a course of twelve lectures.

The sentiments of Locke and Milton, on the subject of education, are before the world, and have been examined in every point of view. But old Burton, "Democritus Junior," the Anatomist of Melancholy, has the following passage in his quaint style: — "But and if *Very Truth* be extant indeede on earth, as some hold she it is which actuates men's deeds, purposes, ye may in vaine look for her in the learned universities, halls, colleges. Truth is no Doctoresse, she taketh no degrees at Paris or Oxford, amongst great clerks, disputants, subtile Aristotles, men *nodosi ingenii, able to take Lully by the chin*, but oftentimes to such an one as myself, an *Idiota*, or common person, *no great things*, melancholizing in woods where waters are, quiet places by rivers, fountains, whereas the silly man expecting no such matter, thinketh only how best to delectate and refresh his mynde continually with *Natura* her pleasaunt scenes, woods, water-falls, or *Art* her statelie gardens, parks, terraces, *Belvideres*, on a sudden the goddesse herself *Truth* has appeared, with a shyning

lyghte, and a sparkling countenance, so as yee may not be able lightly to resist her." Now we humbly maintain, that Truth is not only a *Goddesse*, but a *Doctoresse*: that she may be looked for in universities, halls, and colleges; and we further venture to hope, in those public schools which prepare the student for his probation in the higher stages of academical discipline.

The first charge against us is, that we devote too large a portion of irrevocable time to the attainment of one object, namely classical learning. Here a question arises, whether classical learning be really one object, or whether it do not rather embrace a circle of important objects. It seems to me to furnish a supply of various and gradually accumulating knowledge, suggested to the scholar incidentally, through the medium of languages to be learned, with more interest and effect than would be produced by the formality of systematic lectures, and at a more early period than any at which the mind would be strong enough to encounter the severity of strict philosophical discussion. Did my limits admit of examining the subject in all its bearings, I might enlarge on the consideration, that he who knows only modern languages, knows no language at all. But the prejudice of the moment seems all for science. Certain philosophers would teach the young idea how to shoot with the cross-bow of geology: but we can herein convict them of belying their own pretensions to method, and jumping *in medias res*, when they would start their little geologues in the

career of knowledge from *hic lapis*, a stone. We on the contrary adhere to the principle, so often and so learnedly inculcated by the first Lord Kenyon, whose legal knowledge was unbounded, and whose fondly displayed power of quotation, now and then overleaped the enclosures of the Latin syntax, *stare super antiquas vias.* On this sound constitutional principle, so fit to be adopted by the professors of learning, we set out from *hæc musa*, a song. But then this singing propensity of ours is alleged as one of our principal crimes. We are accused of making poets, whereas they ought to be born. Now assuredly we are not so absurd as to suppose, either that we can, or that the gods will, make our pupils poetical. It is supposed that we confine our efforts to fostering an annual poet or two, for the purpose of supporting our own reputation in the universities. But we are not so ambitious as to aim at usurping the prerogative of royalty: nay, the king himself, who can do no evil, can do no more good than to make a laureate: in which capacity Cibber and Pye chaunted, and Southey is silent. It is said that we teach an art, which not one in five hundred of our pupils will ever practise in after life. That is highly probable, and by no means to be regretted, if there be any truth in a Spanish proverb, that "He who cannot make one verse is a blockhead; he who makes more is a fool." I have relieved you from the first of these imputations, and I warn you against incurring the second. But should the muse be so spiteful as to inspire you, send not the effusions to

me, since I can assure you, that to a schoolmaster, sufficient unto the day is the *authorship* thereof. Teaching composition, like other great crimes, carries its punishment along with it. Why then do we teach composition in Latin and Greek, and particularly verse? It is to make critics, not poets. It is to ensnare our pupils into a more extensive, and a more curious examination of the great writers, than the public tuition of a mixed body would allow. The practice of classical composition in verse and prose compels a composer of any talent or ambition to pull to pieces the whole phraseology of the principal authors for his own use, and carefully to examine their thoughts for the purposes of adaptation. Thus an acquaintance is formed with their contents, and an insight gained into their spirit, not to be acquired by mere mechanical construction in a lesson, or by yawning over the notes of Delphin or Variorum commentators.

We are further accused, not only of making an annual poet, but of making an annual scholar; of cultivating highly soils of abundant promise, and suffering the light lands to lie fallow. This vain or mercenary conduct I indignantly disclaim for myself. A long experience of the public school system, and an extensive acquaintance among its conductors, enable me to disclaim it in behalf of my brethren. I feel convinced that there is no set of gentlemen at the head of any public school in the kingdom, so mean, so unworthy of the name, as to betray their vice-

parental trust, and to consign those pupils to ignorance, who are not blessed with brilliant talents. The frequently recurring failure of laborious and painful efforts is sufficiently mortifying, without being imputed as a fault; but who can escape censure, if the apathy of sluggish minds, or the impracticability of dull parts, is to be fixed on the instructors as arising from a dereliction of their duty? There will always be a grenadier company in academical as well as in military bodies. It is to be feared there will also be an awkward squad: but we find that we can drill those prevailing numbers, who just come up to the regimental standard, into useful fighting men.

That our course of instruction is so completely unprofessional, is with me a merit, rather than a defect. We teach the general principles of religion; but we leave it to the universities to form the divine: we leave it to the bar to form its own lawyers: but we endeavour to lay that solid foundation, on which a superstructure of any order may be raised. A strong objection against educating with professional views too early, is, that all professional education, not to speak invidiously, has an eye to pecuniary interest, and the politic arts of pushing forward in life. There is no fear that these objects will not occupy the mind soon enough: and it is highly desirable that it should previously be furnished with sentiments of independence, with a taste for the liberal arts, with that common stock for the intercourse of polite society, which distinguish the gentleman from the

recluse, the pedant, or the plodder. But the truth is, that besides this advantage, classical education does make preparation for the peculiar duties and pursuits of after life, though not exclusively or engrossingly: in addition to which, it furnishes at the time, and continues to furnish through life, something valuable in itself to all those who possess it, independently of its subserviency to their more necessary pursuits, and independently of the mental discipline incident to its acquirement.

My station in life may be supposed to give a bias to my opinions and reasonings on this subject. I will therefore appeal to the testimony of the great Lord Chatham, as simply and beautifully delivered in those letters to his nephew, Lord Camelford, for the possession of which we are indebted to Lord Grenville: — "I rejoice to hear that you have begun Homer's Iliad, and have made so great a progress in Virgil. I hope you taste and love those authors particularly. You cannot read them too much; they are not only the two greatest poets, but they contain the finest lessons for your age to imbibe; lessons of honour, courage, disinterestedness, love of truth, command of temper, gentleness of behaviour, humanity, and in one word, virtue in its true signification. Go on, my dear nephew, and drink as deep as you can of those divine springs: the pleasure of the draught is equal at least to the prodigious advantage of it to the heart and morals. I hope you will drink them as somebody does in Virgil,

of another sort of cup: *Ille impiger hausit spumantem pateram.*"

Lord Chatham, it should seem, did not hold the opinion expressed by a German writer, who says that he would as soon insist on seeing a boy with a brandy bottle, as a book, continually in his hands. In a subsequent passage, the great statesman who so gracefully and benevolently descends into the office of a private tutor, advises his pupil to consider the poets, however delightful, as subordinate objects of his attention: —

"I beg a copy of your elegy on your mother's picture: it is such *admirable poetry*, that I beg you *to plunge deep into prose and severer studies*, and not *indulge your genius for verse*, for the present. *Finitimus oratori poeta.* Substitute Tully and Demosthenes in the place of Homer and Virgil; and arm yourself with all the variety of manner, copiousness and beauty of diction, nobleness and magnificence of ideas, of the Roman consul; and render the powers of eloquence complete, by the irresistible torrent of vehement argumentation, the close and forcible reasoning, and the depth and fortitude of mind of the Grecian statesman."

If what has been said be sufficient to justify the choice of our studies, the next question is, whether we pursue them wisely and successfully. It will scarcely be contended, that with the advantage of the emulation we have the means of exciting, we are likely to be less qualified teachers of the learned languages, than those who devote their

talents to more confined numbers or individual objects of their attention. The charge to which we must plead guilty is, taking a longer time about it. Perhaps, however, we lay up a larger stock of materials in the course of our teaching, than those who make a merit of communicating the mere languages in a shorter time than ourselves. In fact, I positively deny that the seven or eight years passed at a public school are devoted to the acquisition of two languages. Simple construction is merely mechanical; and lectures produce little of lasting impression even on adult minds. We endeavour, in our upper classes, to unite the interest of lectures with the discipline of examination. Those youths who make full use of the opportunities offered them in public instruction, and that more extensive course of private reading, in which it is our habit to engage boys of ardent mind and considerable power, acquire with the languages, the heart and soul of the authors: the facts contained in their histories, their principles of public conduct, their private morals, the civil and military constitutions of their countries, with their resemblances and discrepancies in reference to our own: the most approved rules of taste in poetry and the fine arts, and their effects upon modern literature. I should think but meanly of that teacher, who could read Homer with his class, and not occasionally talk to them about Milton. With as little favour should I regard the intellectual energy of him, who could read page after page of Cicero with his pupils, without comparing the

Roman Forum with the practice of the English Bar, and the province of our juries with the office of their *judices;* without looking at the *senatus populusque Romanus*, with reference to the constitutional functions of the British Parliament: who could read the two great orators of antiquity without associating the name of Cicero with that of Pitt, and the name of Demosthenes with that of Fox. Still less could I apologise for the neglect or apathy of that instructor, who should pass by any occasion which either the best or the worst philosophy and morals of the ancients may happen to furnish, of impressing on the minds of his hearers the superiority of the wisdom from above, to any thing that the wit of man has ever yet devised; of pointing out how abhorrent from Christian principles are their worst doctrines, how greatly inferior the noblest conjectures of their most highly favoured minds. With respect to the mode in which religious convictions are most successfully impressed, I feel convinced from the habitual practice of both methods, that the evidences of Christianity, those at least which are collateral, are more favourably received when thrown in incidentally, when they strike with a surprise, or steal upon the mind, than when they are ushered in with the formality of prepared lectures. All those who are extensively conversant with young minds and feelings must know, that what is necessarily very serious, is presupposed to be very dull, and consequently heard with listlessness, or perhaps even with disgust. The only

painful part of a public teacher's office, is the constant effort required, to cheat his pupils into attention: and he who will not introduce considerable variety of topics, who is too pompous to be entertaining, and too full of his own dignity to throw an occasional air of vivacity over subjects grave in their general tenor, will be heard with obtuse ears, charm he never so wisely.

It has been the fashion of late years, especially with that class of persons who compliment themselves with the epithet of serious-minded, and endow their own confined party with the title of the religious public, to insinuate that the habits of large schools are somewhat whimsical in point of morality. Now it is unavoidable that where considerable numbers are congregated, and a certain portion of liberty is allowed, irregularities and abuses should occasionally arise: but it does not therefore follow, that the accumulation of numbers, or that certain extent of liberty, must on the average be an evil. To argue the point, would lead me too far: but I am a decided enemy to keeping boys in perpetual leading-strings. At the same time, where there is option, there will sometimes be a wrong choice. The painful part to a master's feelings is the necessity of setting up scarecrows: a necessity which falls with more severity on the grieved and disappointed parent, than on the worthless son. But I have never known an instance within my own experience, in which the scarecrow has failed to perform his office. On whatever occasion any question of discipline or morals has

arisen here, a very large majority has always taken the right side; has always acted rightly, and what is even of more importance, has thought and felt rightly. As a set-off against the superior vigilance, or rather the more unrelenting superintendence, of private or domestic education, I allege the system of moral discipline, and the habit of moral feeling, always subsisting among you independently of me: a system and habits which put a stern negative on every thing like meanness or shuffling; which hold the character of a gentleman to be of the very first necessity. In no instance have I ever known ungentlemanly or immoral conduct cheered by any individual not personally implicated. I have the pleasure to find that you, my friends, support in after life the character you have borne during your residence under my roof; nor need I, when I hear how respectfully you are spoken of in the University of Cambridge, where you are so numerous, entertain any fears for you, on a comparison with that description of young persons, nursed in supposed innocence and security, among the pet animals of a lady's drawing-room: a hat-box containing kittens on one side of the fireplace; a large band-box containing the heir apparent on the other.

On looking back to what I have written, I conceive it not impossible that some persons may consider it as the *quip modest* in favour of my own individual establishment: but this would not be a candid construction of my feelings or inten-

tions. If the Cambridge triposes warrant me in considering myself as in any degree a successful teacher, I unfeignedly attribute that success, not to my talents, but to my breeding. That, as most of you know, took place at Harrow: there I learned my art, and on the model there furnished have I practised it. The late Dr. Benjamin Heath was the master of that school during all my earlier time. That excellent person was held in the highest veneration by his pupils, and was not only as good a master, but as good a man as ever lived. In him, firmness, which was neither shaken by difficulties nor exasperated by opposition, unquestioned impartiality, and a system of discipline founded on moral propriety and practical good sense, were the features of his public ministry. An opinion then very generally prevailing, that young persons were to be kept in a state of awe, gave an appearance of sternness to his outward deportment; but it went no deeper than the features and the wig. All the rest was candour, benevolence, and zeal for the interests of his pupils.

Like the general run of immaculate men, he judged the frailties of others with a lenity which sinners never exercise; and smiled in private at those venial errors which shook down a tempest of powder with the thunders of official denunciation.

My school education was finished under his successor, Dr. Drury; to whose strenuous encouragement and friendly advice I feel deeply indebted: of him I should say more, were it not that the praise of the living is too often considered

as flattery. He has long since retired; but the name still flourishes. For myself, I cannot but hope that the labours of sixteen years have given me some ground of my own to stand upon; but I have no doubt that the circumstance of my bearing the name of my venerable relative occasioned my earlier services to be received with partiality. On the nearly identified regulations of Harrow and Eton I formed my system, not as a servile copyist, but as a free and faithful follower. But while I adopted their course of study and modes of management, I have from time to time introduced such deviations, as difference of local circumstances, and the facilities of a less extensive concern induced me in the exercise of an independent judgment to approve. But in my changes and additions, as well as in my adoptions, I have endeavoured to adhere to the spirit when departing from the letter.

The list of Harrow worthies, in all departments, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, did my limits allow of its transcription, would furnish a triumphant evidence of practical utility. Among the earlier names are those of Baxter the philologist and antiquary, and the critic Dennis, more celebrated than well esteemed.

Bruce the Abyssinian traveller, Orme the historian of Hindostan, and Hamilton the author of Ægyptiaca, form no mean triumvirate in an interesting department of literature. Sir William Jones was the Crichton of his age. In the naval and military department, we have the names of Lord Rodney, Lord Hastings, and Colonel Ponsonby,

whose noble career was prematurely terminated in the field of Waterloo. Of official statesmen our harvest is abundant: Lord Wellesley began at Harrow, and finished at Eton; to whom add, the late Spencer Percival, Mr. Robinson the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Peel the present Secretary of State for the Home Department, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Westmoreland, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Harrowby.* The labourers in the unproductive field of opposition are also not a few: independently of names which shall be reserved to grace other than the political department, there are those of the Duke of Grafton, Lord Euston, Lord Althorpe, the Duke of Hamilton, the Marquis of Douglas, Lord Archibald Hamilton, Lord Duncannon, Lord Grosvenor, and many others of later standing. To Richard Brinsley Sheridan that happened which never happened to any other man: on the same evening he was in three places at once; he was entertaining crowded audiences with his School for Scandal, and Duenna, at the two theatres, and making one of his most brilliant displays of eloquence in the House of Commons. Among those of the nobility honourably distinguished for classical pursuits and acquirements, may be mentioned the late Earl of Denbigh, the present Earl Spencer, and the Earl of Hardwicke who edited the collection called "Athenian Letters." In another department of literary pursuit we have the Earl of Aberdeen, the

* All but Lord Wellesley are exclusively Harrovians.

president of the Antiquarian Society; Mr. Taylor Combe, secretary to the Royal, director of the Antiquarian Society, and keeper of the antiquities and coins in the British Museum. The Duke of Devonshire is among the most distinguished collectors of books, and works in the fine arts, in this collecting country. The Earl of Elgin brought into England (we need not enter into controversy) the finest specimens of Grecian sculpture existing. Among lawyers, we have Mr. East, the celebrated reporter, and a name which cannot be mentioned without deep regret. The failure of Sir John Richardson's health, and his unavoidable retirement, have grievously disappointed his profession and his country. His promotion was entirely owing to his great talents and unspotted virtues. The acuteness of his conception, the clearness of his understanding, and the soundness of his legal principles, led the public to look forward to the most substantial benefits from his judicial services: and though the profession of the law is too well stocked with talents and integrity to allow the secession of any individual to be irretrievable, it is a national loss that the interpretation and application of the laws should have devolved for so short a time on such a man.

This catalogue might be extended to many more pages; but such extension would be out of place. I will close it with two names, which will only perish, the one with the records of classical learning, the other with English poetry, in the very highest ranks of which his works will stand to the

last, when personal malignity, always pursuing the obliquities of superior genius, shall have expended its stock of exaggerated imputation. You will anticipate the names of Dr. Parr and Lord Byron.

The zeal with which I have defended our public establishments should not subject me to the suspicion of looking with a hostile or jealous eye on the extensive projects of education now afloat. To the unlimited diffusion of knowledge, whether through the channel of philosophical institutions for mechanics, or the erection of a university in London, I wish success, and predict it from the growing spirit of the age. It is to be hoped that soon there will not be a totally uneducated person in this country. The effect of this, so far from being a reasonable subject of alarm, would be as advantageous to the higher as to the lower classes of society. There ought to be no danger, lest the peasant should tread on the heels of the courtier. The education which the working population of a country can possibly receive, must always be limited by their circumstances. The nature of those circumstances will always prevent it from being educated up to the higher ranks. Their knowledge must be of a practical, money-getting order. When once they advance beyond mere rudiments, the ornamental must always be left for the more fortunate. Give them all the education they can possibly receive, no evil consequences can result from its extension. The only danger that could arise, would be in the very improbable case of the gentleman's education being lowered to their stand-

ard. But even in the equally improbable case of the general standard being so raised, that their average knowledge should equal or surpass that of gentlemen now, it would still be our own fault if they were educated up to the education of gentlemen then. With the start which the constitution of society has given us, a constitution undergoing a modification, but not a subversion, from the peculiar spirit of the times, with the means of selecting the most valuable assistance, with a large portion of leisure, and a comparative exemption from the anxieties arising out of hazardous subsistence, we should deserve little compassion if we suffered the energies of poverty to rival or overmaster the indolence of advantageous position. Should the cultivation of the popular mind rise above the most cowardly anticipations of those who see more danger in improvement than in deterioration, no harm would really be done, but on the contrary much good: for unless in the improbable and disgraceful alternative of the higher classes degenerating in proportion to the improvement of the lower, the education of the poor could scarcely be extended without forcing the rich also to extend theirs. But the education of the common people cannot be so extended as to engender any prejudicial confusion, provided the education of the higher classes, however it may become necessary to enlarge its range, continue to be, as it now is, mainly directed to what we are in the habit of distinguishing by the title of polite literature or elegant attainment. The superior advan-

CONTENTS.

	Page
Comparative Estimate of Terence and Plautus	1
On the Epicurean Philosophy	26
On the Aristotelian Philosophy	52
Character of Timon the Misanthrope	63
Character of Apemantus	81
Character of Alcibiades	84
On Callimachus	113
On Horace	125
On the Characters of Titus and Berenice	157
On Cæsar's Commentaries	179
On the History of Josephus.—On Herod, Mariamne, and Herod the Tetrarch	187
On the Character of Mucius Scævola	242
On Cicero	248
On Seneca	285
On Ausonius	304
On the Character of Cinna	317
On the Titles and Mythological Character of Mercury	324
On the Mythological Character of Rhadamanthus	331
On the Mythological Character of Pluto	333
On a Sentiment in Catullus	335
Equivoques and Amphibologies	338
Acrostics	344
Echo	345
Leonine Verses	346
Expressive Descriptions	350
Verses of Whimsical Construction	354

Page
Roman Notes 358
Epitaphs 362
Miscellaneous Epigrams 366
Miscellaneous Etymologies, and Peculiar Meanings and Usages of Words 373
Miscellaneous Passages from Horace 379
Miscellaneous Passages from Juvenal 388
Miscellaneous Passages from Virgil 397
Quaint Opinions, Expressions, and Manners of the Ancients 413
Sound Moral Doctrines of the Ancients 418
Popular Tricks and Superstitious Imaginations of the Ancients 420
Miscellaneous Passages from Plutarch 425
Miscellaneous Passages from Erasmus 427
Passage from Sallust 429
Miscellaneous Passages from Pliny the Natural Historian 430
Passage from Ælian de Natura Animalium 434
Miscellaneous Passages from Aulus Gellius 435
Miscellaneous Passages from Cicero 439
Poetical Genealogies and Exploits of Fabulous Personages 442
Miscellaneous Passages from Persius 444
Miscellaneous Passages from Modern Authors 446
Miscellaneous Passages from Homer 450
Miscellaneous Passages from Plautus 456
Passage from Tacitus 458
Passage from Quinctilian 459
Passage from Aristophanes 460

CLASSICAL DISQUISITIONS

AND CURIOSITIES.

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATE OF TERENCE AND PLAUTUS.

Ambigitur quoties, uter utro sit prior; aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti:
Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro;
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi;
Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte.

HORATII EPIST. i. lib. 2.

THE commentators are so much at variance respecting Horace's real drift in his critical epistles, whether he gives certain characters as his own or as the popular opinion, that we can scarcely avail ourselves of his decisions, but as we find them confirmed by other and tantamount authorities. Among the principal of these is Varro, who thus sums up the leading characteristics of Cæcilius and Terence: "In argumentis Cæcilius poscit palmam;

in ethesin Terentius." Horace's *gravitas*, therefore, as illustrated by this passage, may be applied to the affecting cast of Cæcilius's general style: and that application is confirmed by another observation of the same author: "*Pathe* Trabea, Attilius, et *Cæcilius* facile moverunt." Horace's *ars*, also, to reconcile it in a similar point of view with Varro's criticism, may be understood to represent, though by too vague a term, that delineation of manners which is the obvious meaning of Varro's expression, *ethesin*. But the probability is, that it rather applies to the discovery of the double plot, or combination of two stories into one, which the Latin poets invented to satisfy the craving appetite of their audience, too little refined to relish the Greek simplicity and unity. The degree of perfection to which Terence carried this contrivance, and the many occasions on which Plautus contented himself with the single plot of the old comedy, form a strong point of contrast between these two dramatists: and the verb *properare*, in the line devoted to Plautus, shows that such contrast was here intended in reference to the management of their plots; because though *ars* might refer to the manners, *properare* could not; and this verb must not be understood merely, as by some critics, to express the closeness with which he imitated, or followed up Epicharmus without losing sight of him; an apparent attempt to put more into the verb than it has room to contain; but the careless rapidity and inartificial winding up of his plots, in which he did not feel it necessary to be more exact than his model. And this explanation; which places *arte* in substantial, though not in grammatical, antithesis with *properare*, as well as with *gravitate*,

seems quite consonant with that *curiosa felicitas* in Horace, enabling him to make single words do the office of whole sentences, and to deliver a criticism or a sarcasm, as it were in a nut-shell. These opposite habits of composing evidently did not arise from the fluctuations of taste in the audience, because the plays of each kept possession of the stage, and divided the sentiments of its frequenters, long after the respective periods of their natural lives; but from the different turn of mind and dissimilar talents in the individuals.

Plautus was a perfect master of the Roman language; so much so, that Varro is stated by Quinctilian to have quoted a saying of Ælius Stilo: "Musas Plautino sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latinè loqui vellent." He was besides gifted with a vein of forcible raillery, and a happy union of that buffoonery which always delights a mixed audience, with the higher qualities of real genius; there was in him a combination of strong, caustic, genuine humour, with a spirit of lively repartee, and a facetious turn of expression, always at command. He, therefore, had the means of securing to himself the goodwill of his audience, independently of curiosity, or the complex interest of a fable.

Terence, on the other hand, confined himself strictly and sometimes timidly, within the limits of nature and every-day life, even in his most humorous characters: he did not range the boundless field of what might have been done or said, but transcribed what he had seen and heard in his intercourse with mankind, or what he could justify on the authority of his Grecian master. The fabric of his plots, and the situations in which he places the persons of his drama, are often at variance

with modern notions of propriety; but he carefully abstains from that licence and coarseness of particularising, from the adoption of that most blunt and strongest language, (and we are told the Muses would have been somewhat broad, ladies though they be,) in which the admirer of the old, and the master of the middle comedy indulged. The consequence was, that Terence felt it necessary to guard against the charge of insipidity, by variety of action and accumulation of incident.

In accounting for the different modes in which these two great writers conducted their fables, we have been led partly to anticipate some remarks on their habits of expression, which were rough and unbridled in Plautus, but smooth, regular, and polished in Terence. Now it might be supposed that delicacy was not much more natural to a Carthaginian slave, than to a hanger-on of the theatre, who had spent his substance on stage dresses, and had reduced himself to the necessity of becoming a baker's servant, to gain a livelihood by working at a hand-mill. But the condition of slaves was not always disadvantageous, as we know by the example of more than one eminent writer born in that condition, as well as by the instance of Cicero's Freed-Man, who was the associate of his literary occupations. The slave in question was so fortunate as to fall into the hands of Terentius Lucanus, a man of family, and a member of the senate, who not only gave him a good education, as was the custom with the Roman gentlemen when they picked up boys of promise, but at a manly age presented him with his freedom, and introduced him into the very best society. It was through this kind conduct of his master, that the future

poet became acquainted with Scipio and Lælius. * On this part of the subject, we have a letter of Cicero to Atticus, in which the former says, "Secutus sum, non dico Cæcilium; . . . . . malus enim Latinitatis auctor est: sed Terentium, cujus Fabellæ propter elegantiam sermonis, putabantur a Lælio scribi, &c."† This passage will enable us to appreciate the style of both without disparagement to either. Plautus was said, in the language of a preceding quotation, to have spoken the very Latin in which the Muses must have expressed themselves, had they been born and bred at Rome. Cicero, without giving any opinion of it, repeats the gossip of Terence's inability to write in so polite a style, and the consequent transfer of his laurels to the brow of a man of fashion. Erasmus, one of the best judges of classical literature at the revival of learning, says, that there is no author from whom we can better learn the pure Roman style than from the poet Terence. It has been further remarked on him, that the Romans thought themselves in conversation when they heard his comedies. When the respective produc-

* This intimacy, stated by so many ancient writers, and alluded to by himself, renders Bonnell Thornton's conjecture unnecessary, that he was employed about the stage like Shakspeare, and an actor.

† On this, hear Terence himself, in the Prologue to the Adelphi: —

Nam quod isti dicunt malevoli, homines nobiles
Eum adjutare, assidueque una scribere:
Quod illi maledictum vehemens existimant,
Eam laudem hic ducit maximam, quum illis placet,
Qui vobis universis et populo placent;
Quorum opera in bello, in otio, in negotio,
Suo quisque tempore usus est sine superbia.

tions of these authors are examined on the principles of common sense and modern taste, assisted and checked by the authorities above-quoted, the result of the comparison as to style will probably be found as follows. Plautus had the raciness of early language, the pith of original genius, and the various resources of a man who had mixed with human life in all its forms, and had kept company with Nature in her working dress as well as in her best clothes. Terence was the associate of gentlemen: and though the ascription of his plays to Lælius must be considered as a mere suspicion, arising from the superior elegance and courtly polish of their language; it is both probable in itself, and appears to have been credited as fact by the ancients, that he was assisted in his compositions both by him and Scipio, as amateur critics. The consequence of Terence's access to such high society was, that while the diction of Plautus was more poetical, more pointed, more blunt, and more rich in natural touches, he himself maintained a decided superiority in the tone of gentlemanly conversation; that his copy of the Greek model he had adopted was in the best taste of scholarship; that his vivacity excited a smile rather than a laugh; his morals were those of urbanity, not of severity; his satire tickled without stinging. Few authors have furnished a larger number of maxims for the government or illustration of common life. Goldsmith's opinion of him is expressed in his complimentary line on Cumberland: —

The Terence of England, the mender of hearts.

Plautus, therefore, it should appear from his writings and his habits, resembled Shakspeare, as his

biographers, right or wrong, have represented him; the hero of the deer-park, of the street before the theatre, or the stage within it. Terence was more like the Congreve or the Sheridan of the court of Queen Anne or George the Third.

The palm of wit remains to be won, or to be divided. With respect to the positive claims of Plautus, Cicero and Horace take opposite sides. Cicero classes him with the Attic writers of the old comedy, with the Socratic philosophers, and with the elder Cato. August company for the spendthrift and the droll! He says in his first book De Officiis: "Duplex omnino est jocandi genus: unum illiberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obscœnum; alterum, elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum. Quo genere non modo Plautus noster, et Atticorum antiqua comœdia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt: multaque multorum facete dicta; ut ea quæ a sene Catone collecta sunt, quæ vocant ἀποφθεγματα." The epithets applied to the second *genus* are strictly and abundantly applicable to Plautus and to the Attic writers of the old comedy; but I fear neither can be exempted from some of those assigned to the first. Dr. Hurd ascribes the cause of this strong predilection in favour of Plautus, to the conformity of the old-comedy wit with the genius of popular eloquence; but I think we trace it also, in part, to a similar conformity of natural taste. Cicero's own wit and humour were, in many instances, neither refined, nor decent, nor genuine. His genius in his Orations appears with as much dignity and elevation as brilliancy: and his Treatise De Oratore, (with the exception I am going to state, probably the most perfect of his works,) is not

only a master-piece of exact criticism, but carries the *beau idéal* of an art as high as it can be carried without extravagance: like Longinus, he gives a current exemplification of his principles and rules, in the march of his own eloquence. But I could have been well contented, looking only at Cicero's credit, (for the chapters in themselves are very curious, and eminently useful as a warning,) that the sections in the second book, from 240 to 289, had been in a great measure filled up with asterisks, and *multa desunt;* for nothing can be more coarse than much of the humour here, and still more in a most disgraceful letter in the collection Ad Familiares; nothing more frigid than most of the puns. Dr. Hurd seems to adopt Cicero's own apology, that "the main end of *jesting at the bar* is, not to acquire the credit of consummate humour, but to carry the cause, *ut proficiamus aliquid:* that is, *to make an impression on the people;* which is generally, we know, better done by a coarser joke, than by the elegance of refined raillery."—*Notes on the Art of Poetry.*

Now I condemn these classed laws, specimens, and models of joking; not solely on the ground of coarseness, but because many of the examples are cold and vapid, and because the excursions of wit seem to be properly a casual adjunct to parliamentary or forensic eloquence, rather than an integral part of it to be treated professorially. The Roman orator, it is true, had occasion *proficere aliquid,* translated by Dr. Hurd, *to make an impression on the people;* but the promiscuous audience should not enter into the thoughts of the modern advocate, who addresses judges and juries, supposed to be grave and en-

lightened. Ought then wit to be excluded from public speaking, whether at the bar or in parliament? Certainly not: and it is in fact more frequently and more successfully resorted to by modern than by ancient orators, although our speakers have little occasion to make an impression on the *common* people, unless on the hustings at elections. But the wit of Burke and Sheridan in our House of Commons, and of Erskine at our bar, was born with the occasion, sudden, vigorous, and natural; not hammered and manufactured on the anvil of rhetorical system. The impromptu would be more insipid than even "the pathos of a week old." Rules for the general conduct of a cause, for the selection and arrangement of topics and arguments, for almost every thing else with which the advocate has to deal, are strictly in place, and will be useful in proportion to their justness: but *Rules for jesting at the bar!* It is as if Mr. Butterworth, or any other eminent bookseller, were to insert into his catalogue of law books, *The Barrister's Joe Miller.*

But to return to Plautus: —

> At vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et
> Laudavere sales: nimium patienter utrumque,
> Ne dicam stulte, mirati. *De Arte Poet.*

An attempt has been made to soften this judgment on the part of Horace, and to reconcile its apparent severity with the more favourable opinion of Cicero and other critics, by reading, and that on MS. authority, *non* for *ne.* The criticism would then stand thus. The word *numeri*, strictly taken, expresses measure and versification; which, in this

author, are often confessedly unequal and irregular. Some have supposed that the term is used with epistolary freedom, to comprehend language. But there seems no occasion to put Horace further beyond the pale of received opinion; since this author's purity in that respect is universally allowed: his works are, indeed, a magazine of Latin idiom. His *sales*, we are told, were borne too patiently, though Cicero heartily admired them, as *elegantes et urbanos*. That praise must, however, be taken with as much allowance as Horace's censure; for his pleasantries are often indelicate, his wit low, and his jests as cold as Cicero's own. Indeed the lighter parts of Cicero's writings, as observed upon in a preceding paragraph, seem to furnish a comment *ad hominem*, on his apparently unqualified approbation of Plautus. But Horace rather hinting than pronouncing a censure on Plautus's faults, if we read, *non dicam stulte*, the indulgence expressed by *nimium patienter*, is ascribed to the prejudice of the people in favour of his beauties, which is said not to be *foolish*, that is, without foundation or positively erroneous, but too indiscriminate. But this reading has obtained possession of few texts; and the reading generally received makes Horace say that the admiration was *foolish* as well as *too tolerant*, and that only delicacy prevents him from stating it so in plain terms. The truth seems to be, that Horace is rather fighting professionally for himself and his contemporaries, than giving his private and personal opinion. Poets and painters have in all ages been prone to exclaim against the superstitious veneration of old masters, as discouraging to the birth and expansion of modern genius. Horace, there-

fore, lays hold of a tendency in the old comedian, as a topic of censure, which the improved delicacy of the Augustan age had not chastised out of himself. Neither is his present squeamishness, as to Plautus, in unison with his approbation expressed elsewhere, of the still less delicate old comedy: nor is it very consistent to find fault with Plautus on this head, and yet to relish Aristophanes, who must be included, for more than his versification, in the general advice, —

> Vos exemplaria Græca
> Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.

After all, Horace, while exhibiting the faults of preceding poets in a strong point of view, for the purpose of checking the extravagance of admiration, only attributes such to Plautus as are common to early dramatic writers in every age and country: in our own, not only to the Chapmans, the Lylys, and the Deckers, but to Shakspeare, Jonson, and Fletcher.

If Horace has censured the too coarse style of Plautus, Cæsar, on the supposition that the following lines are truly ascribed to him, characterises Terence's plays as devoid of comic spirit: —

> Tu quoque, tu in summis, ô dimidiate Menander,
> Poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator;
> Lenibus atque utinam scriptis adjuncta foret vis
> Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore
> Cum Græcis, neque in hac despectus parte jaceres.
> Unum hoc maceror, et doleo tibi deesse, Terenti.

By the expression, *dimidiate Menander*, it is obvious that the deficiency is not to be understood

as confined to the comic drollery of the old and middle comedy, with which Plautus had so enchanted the dramatic world, as to continue the reigning favourite, not only after the appearance of Afranius and Terence, but throughout the Augustan age. Cæsar evidently represents him as defective also in that other species of comic heightening in which the Greek comedians of the new school excelled. When he calls Terence *a Menander by halves*, he pronounces him to be a beautiful, but faint shadow of his Grecian prototype. To account for this from the stubbornness of the Latin tongue, and to say with Dr. Hurd, that the two first lines are complimentary, and the censure confined to the following, may improve Terence's relative situation with Menander, about whom we know so little, but it leaves the lack of *vis comica* where it found it. Menander, very probably, possessed as little of it; but had Terence felt it in himself, he would have discovered precedents and models for its practical use, with the same ease and success with which he copied the urbanity of Menander. But in fact Terence, however Mr. Colman may plead against it, was, in some of his plays, little more than a translator of that author. With a fund of original humour, he might have effected a coalition of the old and new comedy from the materials before him, superior to any thing in the Greek in every respect, excepting that of language. But there, Quinctilian puts any approach to a rival grace entirely out of the question, by limiting that undefinable subtlety of expression to one dialect, even of the Greek. "Vix levem consequimur umbram, adeo ut mihi sermo ipse Romanus non recipere videatur illam solis

concessam Atticis Venerem, quando eam ne Græci quidem in alio genere linguæ obtinuerint."—*Instit. Orat.* lib. x. 1.

One truth seems to apply to the strictures both of Horace and of Cæsar. Critical censures, especially when conveyed in verse, which so narrowly confines the space for qualification, and furnishes so strong a temptation to pointed sayings, are, in most cases, expressed too positively, and with exaggeration. The loss of Menander's works prevents us from comparing the copyist with his original; but we must not be hurried away by the idea, that because originality and humour were not Terence's strong hold, and because in some of his pieces he was a professed translator, he had no portion of those qualities. There are touches, both of comic humour and of true taste in his works, scarcely to be surpassed in point of spirit, whatever advantage in point of elegance a more tractable language might have given to an Attic writer: and touches so natural, that in the absence of matter-of-fact testimony, we may reasonably infer that they were native and not adopted. Donatus first, and afterwards Hurd in his Horace, have referred to the following as a peculiarly happy stroke of character in the Hecyra: —

Tum tu igitur nihil adtulisti huc plus una sententia?

Laches, the speaker, a covetous old legacy-hunter, has been eagerly enquiring what his kinsman Phania had bequeathed him. Pamphilus stops his mouth with the moral reflection, that he left behind him the praise of having lived well. "Is a sentence all you have brought home?" The

spirit of this is exquisite, and the turn truly comic. Dr. Hurd says, in his Dissertation on the Provinces of the Drama, that "this is true *humour*. For his character, which was that of a lover of money, drew the observation naturally and forcibly from him. His disappointment of a rich succession made him speak contemptibly of a moral lesson, which rich and covetous men, in their best humours, have no high reverence for. And this too without *design*; which is important, and shows the distinction of what, in the more restrained sense of the word, we call *humour*, from other modes of *pleasantry*. For had a young friend of the son, an unconcerned spectator of the scene, made the observation, it had then, in another's mouth, been *wit*, or a designed *banter* on the father's disappointment."

Of this humour, distinguished from pleasantry, there is another admirable instance in the Hecyra, and that in the same character of Laches: —

> Odiosa hæc est ætas adolescentulis:
> E medio æquom excedere est. Postremo jam nos fabulæ
> Sumus, Pamphile, senex, atque anus.

On this Dr. Hurd further remarks, "There is nothing, I suppose, in these words which provokes a smile. Yet the *humour* is strong, as before. In his solicitude to promote his son's satisfaction, he lets fall a sentiment truly characteristic, and which old men usually take great pains to conceal; I mean, his acknowledgment of *that suspicious fear of contempt, which is natural to old age*. So true a picture of life, in the representation of this *weakness*, might, in other circumstances, have created

some *pleasantry*; but the *occasion* which forced it from him, discovering at the same time the *amiable disposition* of the speaker, covers the ridicule of it, or more properly converts it into an object of our *esteem.*"

There is no character, in the delineation of which Terence excels more, than in that of the quaint and sometimes splenetic, but kind-hearted old man. Micio and Demea are an admirably contrasted pair of brothers. Chremes and Simo, in the Andrian, are naturally drawn and consistently supported. The long narrative of the latter, in the opening scene, is also a strong confirmation of Diderot's remark on this author's especial skill in conducting such necessary explanations. The French critic notices the absence of wit, or display of sentiment, which he says are always out of place. This is perfectly true; but quiet pathos, and the natural mixing up of amiable and selfish feeling, which we encounter so much more frequently in life than staring exhibitions either of virtue or vice, are quite compatible with the narrative parts of dramatic poetry, and give an interest and a heightening to it, without which the mere relation of the tale would be insipid. Of this we have a pregnant instance in the following passage of Simo's story:—

Ibi tum filius
Cum illis, qui amabant Chrysidem, una aderat frequens;
Curabat una funus; tristis interim,
Nonnunquam conlacrumabat. Placuit tum id mihi:
Sic cogitabam; Hic, parvæ consuetudinis
Causa, hujus mortem tam fert familiariter:
Quid, si ipse amasset? quid hic mihi faciet, patri?
Hæc ego putabam esse omnia humani ingenî,
Mansuetique animi officia.

Hurd, in his Discourse on Poetical Imitation, remarks that this reasoning on Pamphilus's concern for Chrysis bears a strong resemblance to the comment of the Duke in Twelfth Night, on Valentine's report of Olivia's grief for the loss of a brother; and expresses his surprise that the similarity of sentiment should not have produced a charge of plagiarism against Shakspeare, according to the usual habit of the critics. The passage is of extraordinary elegance: —

> O, she that hath a heart of that fine frame,
> To pay this debt of love but to a brother,
> How will she love, when the rich golden shaft
> Hath kill'd the flock of all affections else
> That live in her?

The Bishop closes his observations with the following liberal remark: —

"Common sense directs us, for the most part, to regard *resemblances* in great writers, not as the pilferings or frugal acquisitions of needy *art*, but as the honest fruits of genius, the free and liberal bounties of unenvying *nature*."

On the subject of originality, Terence, whose plays were not so well received as he felt that they deserved to be, thinks it necessary to vindicate his own system of borrowing, in regard to fables, in all his Prologues which have come down to us: and in that to the Eunuch, he still further apologises for coincidence of characters, by alleging the necessary uniformity of moral description: —

> Quod si personis iisdem uti aliis non licet:
> Quî magis licet, currentes Servos scribere,
> Bonas Matronas facere, Meretrices malas,

Parasitum edacem, gloriosum Militem,
Puerum supponi, falli per Servum Senem,
Amare, odisse, suspicari? Deniquè
Nullum est jam dictum, quod non dictum sit prius.

One cannot but be sorry, that a man so highly gifted, and apparently of such an amiable character, should have been so much hurt, as Terence evidently was, by the malice of his calumniators and the want of general popularity. That he should have been personally run down as an imitator was peculiarly unfair, when we consider how few Latin authors there are, who are not liable to the same charge; and that after Terence's time, through the Augustan age, down to the last gasp of classical genius, the greatest writers not only formed themselves on the Grecian model, but translated more or less from their Grecian predecessors. If Plautus indulged in a greater licence of plot than Terence, it was not because his invention was in that respect more fertile, but because he served himself from the more variously furnished storehouse of a different school. Indeed Plautus himself seems to have had some doubts, whether his own adoption of the liberties indulged in by Aristophanes and others, especially in the introduction of high and reverend personages for low and ludicrous purposes, would be tolerated; at least if we may judge by the apology he thought it necessary to make for his Amphitruo, in the prologue to it: —

Faciam ut commista sit Tragicocomœdia:
Nam me perpetuo facere ut sit Comœdia,
Reges quo veniant et Dî, non par arbitror.

Quid igitur? quoniam hic servos quoque parteis habet.
Faciam, sit, proinde ut dixi, Tragicocomœdia.

As a specimen of Plautus's humour and character, we may take the following description of a servant's life *in place*, from the first speech of Sosia, the *Currens Servus*, in the first scene of the same play: —

Quid faciam nunc, si Tresviri me in carcerem compegerint?
Inde cras e promptuaria cella depromar ad flagrum?
Nec caussam liceat dicere mihi, neque in hero quicquam
auxilii siet?
Nec quisquam sit quin me omnes esse dignum deputent: ita
Quasi incudem me miserum homines octo validi cædant: ita
Peregre adveniens hospitio publicitus accipiar?
Hæc heri immodestia coegit, me qui hoc
Noctis a portu ingratis excitavit.
Nonne idem hoc luci me mittere potuit?
Opulento homini hoc servitus dura est?
Hoc magis miser est divitis servos:
Noctesque diesque assiduo satis superque est,
Quo facto, aut dicto adest opus, quietus ne sis.

In comparing our two poets, it will be necessary to guard against the supposition, that Terence is all art, and Plautus all rough nature and humour. The latter has contrivance abundantly at command, though he had not arrived at the double plot; and is peculiarly happy in the little circumstances of which he lays hold, to help forward his fables. Of this there is an example in the Miles Gloriosus, Actus 2. Scena 4. v. 27.: —

Pa. Pergin', sceleste, intendere, atque hanc arguere?
Ph. Ecastor ergo
Mihi haud falsum eveniat somnium, quod noctu hoc somniavi.

Palæstrio finding it difficult to make Sceledrus disbelieve the evidence of his own eyes, Philocomasium artfully introduces this dream of hers, for the purpose of reconciling the belief they wished to impress, which was so necessary to the success of their object, with what he had actually seen; and the appearance of Philocomasium as her own twin sister immediately afterwards, persuades Sceledrus, prepared as he was by the previous recital, and by the anticipated feeling, "*ita dorsus totus prurit*," "prius ob oculos sibi caliginem obstitisse."

There are some points of humour in Plautus, of which no modern language would admit. Of this kind is the following speech of Hegio, in the Capteivi, Actus 1. Scena 2. v. 56.: —

> Multis et multigeneribus opus est tibi
> Militibus. primum dum opus est Pistoriensibus.
> Opus Paniceis, opus Placentinis quoque,
> Opus Turdetanis, opus est Ficedulensibus:
> Jam maritumi omnes milites opus sunt tibi.

There is a sort of untranslateable pun on the names of places, as Pistorium and Placentia, Italian towns, ascribing to the inhabitants, by inference, the pre-eminence in certain trades, which were in necessary request for furnishing out entertainments. The Pistorienses are both Pistorians and bakers, of which he says there are "genera aliquot:" the Placentini, both Placentians and pastry-cooks, &c.

Among the writers of modern comedy, Moliere comes in closest contact both with Plautus and with Terence. L'Ecole des Maris is obviously taken from the Adelphi of Terence, but with an

addition of interest congenial with the French taste. In the Adelphi, two old men of opposite characters, a father and an uncle, educate a son and a nephew on totally opposite systems. In L'Ecole des Maris, two guardians have each a female ward committed to their charge; and, as in the Latin play, one is severe and the other indulgent; but in the French play, both are lovers. The converse of Moliere's subject was beautifully treated by Garrick, in a little piece called The Guardian, the hint of which was taken from La Pupile of Monsieur Fagan, a writer who seems to have formed himself on the elegant model of Terence. But nothing can exceed the art with which Moliere, in his Amphitrion, has borrowed from Plautus, who had before availed himself of Euripides and of Archippus, as the originals who had treated this subject among the Greeks, and from them the Latin poet introduced it to his countrymen. Moliere has shown a very just taste, both in his alterations and additions. The French critics assign the superiority to their own poet; but this can scarcely be conceded, were it only on the consideration that he is so much further removed from originality. Rotrou had produced the comedy of Les Sosies thirty years before Moliere. His Céphalie is a transcript of Plautus's Thessala; and their only use in the fable is as confidantes of Alcmena. But Moliere's Cléanthis, by being made the wife of Sosia in addition to her other connection with the plot, is rendered a more important and entertaining personage.

Another instance of Moliere's felicity in changing and adding, occurs in the conclusion of the

piece. Plautus has recourse to the old *pis-aller* of machinery: and Amphitruo concludes gravely, though perhaps with a little touch of sarcasm:—

Nunc, spectatores, Jovis summi causa clare plaudite.

In Moliere, Sosia finishes with a stroke of humour. After observing that on such delicate occasions, the selection of complimentary phraseology is a matter of difficulty between the parties, he says:—

Le grand Dieu Jupiter nous fait beaucoup d'honneur,
Et sa bonté, sans doute, est pour nous sans seconde;
Il nous promet l'infaillible bonheur
D'une fortune, en mille biens féconde,
Et chez nous il doit naître un fils d'un très-grand cœur,
Tout cela va le mieux du monde;
Mais enfin coupons aux discours;
Et que chacun chez soi doucement se retire.
Sur telles affaires toujours,
Le meilleur est de ne rien dire.

Moliere took the hint of L'Avare, and a great part of the comedy itself, from the Aulularia of Plautus. The Latin title is derived from *aula*, or *olla*, the diminutive of which is *aulula*. This signifies a *pot*, in which the old miser Euclio kept the treasure he had found. The very humorous conduct of the scene, in which Euclio in the Latin, and Harpagon in the French play, receive the proposition for the marriage without a portion, is implicitly adopted by Moliere, who has also been bold enough to adopt Euclio's address to the spectators, after Strobilus has stolen his treasure. The passages are so strongly illustrative of the

spirit of both, that I shall transcribe them at length: —

Obsecro vos ego, mihi auxilio,
Oro, obtestor, sitis, et hominem demonstretis, qui eam abstulerit,
Qui vestitu et creta occultant sese, atque sedent quasi sint frugi.
Quid ais tu? tibi credere certum est. Nam esse bonum, e vultu cognosco.
Quid est? quid ridetis? novi omnes. Scio fures esse hîc complures.
Hem, nemo habet horum! occidisti. dic igitur, quis habet? nescis!
Heu me miserum, miserum! perii male perditus! pessume ornatus eo.
Tantum gemiti et malæ molestiæ hic dies mihi obtulit,
Famem et pauperiem: perditissumus ego sum omnium in terra.
Nam quid mihi opus est vita, qui tantum auri perdidi?
Quod custodivi sedulo. Egomet me defraudavi,
Animumque meum, geniumque meum. Nunc eo alii lætificantur,
Meo malo et damno: pati nequeo.

Qui peut-ce être? Qu'est-il devenu? Où est-il? Où se cache-t-il? Que ferai-je pour le trouver? Où courir? Où ne pas courir? N'est-il point là? N'est-il point ici? Qui est-ce? Arrête. Ren-moi mon argent, coquin. . . . . Ah! c'est moi. . . . . Que de gens assemblés! Je ne jette mes regards sur personne qui ne me donne des soupçons, et tout me semble mon voleur. Hé? De quoi est-ce qu'on parle là? De celui qui m'a dérobé? Quel bruit fait-on là-haut? Est-ce mon voleur qui y est? De grâce, si l'on sçait des nouvelles de mon voleur, je supplie que l'on m'en dise. N'est-il point caché là parmi vous? Ils me regardent tous, et se mettent à rire.

In both these instances comic despair is carried to the utmost; and Harpagon, seizing on his own

arm, is a bold, but happy and original exaggeration.

The subsequent scene between Euclio and Lyconides in the one, Harpagon and Valere in the other, is a specimen of natural *équivoque;* a recourse which seldom fails on the stage, even when it is extravagant. They mutually mistake each other's meaning most humorously: and the Pot and the Daughter being both of the same gender, the pronouns are let in to play their part with very great effect.

Thus far the ancient and modern poets go hand in hand: and good taste will bear Moliere out in those incidental touches of humour which he has superinduced. Indeed there is nothing in him so extravagant as the supposition of Strobilus, that Euclio's desire of saving carries him so far, as not only to grudge the escape of smoke from his kitchen chimney, but to catch his own breath while asleep, in a bag fastened to his mouth and throat. We may also notice the "ostende etiam *tertiam*" of Plautus, and the conceit of the cooks being all of Geryon's race, and having six hands a-piece. But whether Moliere can be justified when he travels so far out of the record as to superadd new circumstances to the character of the miser, may be much doubted. I feel quite clear, that to represent him in love, albeit that passion owes its birth and death to avarice, is not natural, and therefore a fault. Avarice is an engrossing and exclusive tyrant. The making Harpagon a usurer, and that towards his own son, renders the character more complicated than that of Euclio, who, having become rich by chance, has no object beyond the safe custody of his treasure. Harpagon's eager-

ness to amass by accumulation of interest, as well as to save by abstinence from expense, is perfectly in keeping with the avaricious character, as it appears in modern life, and therefore may, I think, be considered as a judicious graft on the original stock.

The last piece of Moliere I shall notice is, Les Fourberies de Scapin. In this hero of the shoulder-knot, the French poet, without direct copying, has brought together the humours of both Plautus and Terence, in that favourite and soul of the ancient stage, the *currens Servus, qui fallit Senem*. He has, however, in the much canvassed scene between Geronte and Scapin, descended to farce, and to the minor humour of dialect. But the general liveliness and rapid succession of intrigue is quite in the style of Plautus, especially in the fictitious adventure of the Turkish galley. The art with which the spectators are informed of the intended stratagem, by means of one character talking to himself, on the supposition of being alone, and of another overhearing and forming his own plans by what he says, is very much in Terence's spirit. Indeed Scapin bears a strong resemblance to Davus, in the Andrian. The first scene of the piece is also cleverly contrived, where the "plot is insinuated into the boxes," by means of a monosyllabic and tautological footman, who performs the office of Sosia in listening dutifully to his master's story. But it is time to close these remarks, which are becoming too desultory. Enough has been said to prove, that Moliere has, on the whole, shown taste and skill in adapting Plautus and Terence to modern manners, similar to what those masters of the Roman comedy have exhibited, in the dress they

have given to their originals. In one respect the task of the modern was more difficult, because he found it necessary to make his characters French, scarcely with the exception of his gods: but the Latin authors, in many cases, did not even take the trouble to shift their scene from Athens.

ON THE EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY.

'Επίκουρος ὁ Γαργήττιος ἔλεγεν, ᾧ ὀλίγον οὐχ' ἱκανὸν, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε οὐδὲν ἱκανόν.— ÆLIAN. *Var. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 13.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS mentions four persons who bore the name of Epicurus. This circumstance has led Cruquius, in his Commentary on Horace, to doubt whether the Gargettian Epicurus be the founder of the celebrated sect. "Fuit hic Philodemus Epicurus* (ut Strabo scribit) patria Gadarræus: quem Asconius Pedianus in oratione Cic. in Lucium Pisonem, scribit Epicureum fuisse ea ætate nobilissimum: sed arbitror apud Asconium legendum esse pro Epicureum, Epicurum dictum, ut habet Strabo, vel hunc ex illo restituendum: tamen Epicuri cujusdam (quem etiam Gargettium nominat) frequens est mentio apud Stobæum." This hesitation seems to have been excited by the passage in Stobæus; but Statius, Cicero, Ælian, and Diogenes Laertius, all agree as to the birth-place of the founder: which is so far material, that supposing the Gargettian to be a different person, and only a follower, he would remain in possession of the excellent maxim ascribed to him by Ælian, and much other good morality, and leave the founder with nothing but a burden of metaphysical

* Diogenes Laertius calls Philodemus an *Epicurean*. Gassendi mentions an Epicurus spoken of by Galen, as a maker of plasters.—*De Vita et Moribus Epicuri.*

nonsense on his shoulders. Assuming, therefore, that there was but one eminent person of this name, he died in the second year of the 127th Olympiad, 129 years after Socrates, and 271 before Christ, and consequently was contemporary with Alexander the Great. This date, which Gassendi says he found in a manuscript, was restored by Isaac Casaubon, the words καὶ εἰκοστῆς having been omitted by transcribers and printers of D. Laertius, who copied one another, through the inaccuracy of the first. This error left the date 107, and led to the gross anachronism of placing his death in the reign of Philip, and just after Alexander's birth.

Of his youth, Diogenes Laertius gives this account, not much to the honour of Chærestrata: — Καὶ γὰρ σὺν τῇ μήτρι περιϊόντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκίδια, καθαρμοὺς ἀναγινώσκειν· καὶ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ γράμματα διδάσκειν λυπρoῦ τινος μισθαρίου.

Plutarch, in his Disputatio qua docetur ne suaviter quidem vivi posse secundum Epicuri Decreta, gives some curious instances of Epicurus's vanity. It seems he disclaimed being at all indebted to any of his predecessors; and was continually making minute and captious objections against Democritus. We have not the means of refuting or verifying this charge of disingenuous pride; but we know, historically, that if he made the assertion, it was false; because Democritus was born forty years before him, and he borrowed a large portion of his doctrine from the writings of that philosopher. Another anecdote on the same authority is, that he called himself *the only wise man.** The third

* Diogenes Laertius, his regular biographer, treats such stories with contempt, and maintains his entire urbanity towards all descriptions of persons.

involved a most ludicrous application of the atomic system to the circumstances of his mother's gestation: her body contained the exact quantity of atoms, the concourse of which was necessary to form a wise man. Which of these two propositions is the proof, and which the thing to be proved?

In estimating the doctrines of Epicurus, whether moral or philosophical, it will scarcely be necessary to look for materials beyond Cicero, who has given a copious and clear exposition of them: and his testimony on this subject is so much the more valuable, that so far from being that of a flatterer, it was not that of a friend. From a letter to Memmius, who had obtained a grant of a ruinous edifice at Athens belonging to the Epicurean college, and intended to build a house there for himself, but which grant Cicero requests him to wave in favour of his friend Patro, we learn that Cicero commenced his philosophical studies under Phædrus, the probable predecessor of Patro in the college; but that on reflection, and in the maturity of his judgment, he abandoned the sect and abjured its principles. He retained, however, a very high respect for the learning and personal character of his early tutor; but assures Memmius that his good understanding with Patro does not extend to philosophy. His own best considered habits of thinking and rules of action were drawn from the Academy; and are set forth at large in his Tusculan and Academic Questions, where he declares his own adoption of the Socratic system. The object of his treatise De Finibus, was to give a history of the ancient philosophy. Indeed, in his Tusculan and Academic Questions, and in his treatise on the Nature of the Gods, as well as in

that on the chief Good or Ill of Man, he assumes alternately the character of a Stoic, an Epicurean, and a Peripatetic; and for a time forgets his own principles in his zeal to do justice to those whom he temporarily represents: but in his private character of the Academic, he turns round and attacks them all. In one respect this dialogue form rather perplexes philosophical discussion. The reader is, perhaps, not always attentive to the circumstance, whether the speaker of the moment be the author or one of his combatants. This has occasioned Cicero to be charged with many inconsistencies, which a closer application to the course of the dialogue would have reconciled. But this mistake on the part of the reader must be entirely his own fault; for the great Roman is a model of perspicuity as well as elegance, in the conduct of these polite and learned conversations. It may be remarked in passing, that the moderns who have adopted this form have been generally unsuccessful. They have not been happy, like Cicero, in identifying themselves with the character which they for the moment assume: their *Dramatis Personæ* are too evidently brought on, merely to be pelted: it is clearly seen at once, what the author's system really is, and that "all the rest is leather and prunella." In short, the grave impatience of modern readers has determined, that philosophical disquisition is best conducted as a serious business, without theatrical ornament or rhetorical declamation.

But however this may be, Cicero's form of composition seems peculiarly adapted to our purpose, wanting as we do to appreciate the character of a philosopher, whose writings have not come down

to us to tell their own tale. Cicero was educated in the doctrine, and therefore understood it: he weighed it in the balance and found it wanting, and therefore threw it off.

With respect to the imputations so current on Epicurus's moral doctrine, and example, there is an important passage in Cicero to a contrary effect, De Finibus, lib. i. cap. 20.: —

"Restat locus huic disputationi vel maxime necessarius, de amicitia, quam, si voluptas summum sit bonum, affirmatis nullam omnino fore: de qua Epicurus quidem ita dicit: *omnium rerum, quas ad beate vivendum sapientia comparaverit, nihil esse majus amicitia, nihil uberius, nihil jucundius.* Neque vero hoc oratione solum, sed multo magis vita, et factis, et moribus comprobavit. Quod quam magnum sit, fictæ veterum fabulæ declarant: in quibus tam multis, tamque variis, ab ultima antiquitate repetitis, tria vix amicorum paria reperiuntur, ut ad Orestem pervenias, profectus a Theseo. At vero Epicurus una in domo, et ea quidem angusta, quam magnos, quantaque amoris conspiratione consentientes tenuit amicorum greges? quod fit etiam nunc ab Epicureis."

This representation is confirmed by the statement of Laertius, somewhat hyperbolical, that whole cities could not have contained the multitude of his friends. We also find that he improved upon the Pythagorean community of goods. Every individual continued master of his own property and patrimony: but a system of mutual kindness and assistance was recommended in principle, and so carried into effect in practice, as to have produced that state of society and friendship so eloquently described by Cicero. We have concurrent

testimony to prove, that the moral practice of the sect, touching this class of duties, did not degenerate for some ages; and that its disciples enjoyed profound peace among themselves, while others were torn to pieces by party quarrels.* They are distinctly traced down to the second century, and from the union which then subsisted between them, it seems probable that they continued a compact and mutually well affected body for some time longer.

The testimony of Cicero, in the second book, chap. 25., is still stronger to the correctness of Epicurus's personal conduct: —

"Ratio ista, quam defendis; præcepta, quæ didicisti, quæ probas; funditus evertunt amicitiam: quamvis eam Epicurus, ut facit, in cœlum efferat laudibus. At coluit ipse amicitias. Quasi quis illum neget et bonum virum, et comem, et humanum fuisse. De ingenio ejus in his disputationibus, non de moribus quæritur. . . . . Ac mihi quidem, quod et ipse bonus vir fuit, et multi Epicurei fuerunt, et hodie sunt et in amicitiis fideles, et in omni vita constantes, et graves, nec voluptate, sed officio consilia moderantes, hoc videtur major vis honestatis, et minor voluptatis. Ita enim vivunt quidam, ut eorum vita refellatur oratio. Atque ut cæteri existimantur dicere melius, quam facere: sic hi mihi videntur facere melius, quam dicere."

Here is a distinct declaration, that the principles of the sect had not led to those practical evils, which the dangerous tendency, and in some re-

* "Ea quæ Epicuro placuerunt, ut quasdam Solonis aut Lycurgi leges ab Epicureis omnibus servari."—*Themistius* apud *Gassendum, de Vita et Moribus Epicuri.*

spects the absurdity of the theory would seem naturally to have involved.

To this Seneca also bears testimony. Now he was a leader of the Stoics; and consequently inclined to censure Epicurus on grounds in the least degree plausible. In Epist 21. he thus speaks of the frugal fare in the garden of Epicurus: —

"Eo libentius Epicuri egregia dicta commemoro, ut istis, qui ad illa confugient, spe mala inducti, qui velamentum seipsos suorum vitiorum habituros existimant, probem, quocumque ierint, honeste esse vivendum. Cum adierint hos hortulos, et inscriptum hortulis, Hospes hic bene manebis, hic summum bonum voluptas est: paratus erit istius domicilii custos, hospitalis, humanus, et te polenta excipiet, et aquam quoque large ministrabit. Et dicet: Ecquid bene acceptus es? Non irritant, inquam, hi hortuli famem, sed extinguunt: nec majorem ipsis potionibus sitim faciunt, sed naturali et gratuito remedio sedant."

Seneca here confesses, that the best cheer Epicurus gave his guests was bread and water. The following lines of Juvenal confirm this: —

> In quantum sitis atque fames et frigora poscunt:
> Quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis suffecit in hortis:
> Quantum Socratici ceperunt ante Penates.
>
> *Sat.* 14.

We have the evidence of Laertius, that chastity was enforced, not only by precepts from the professor's chair, but by personal example. This his antagonist, Chrysippus, imputed to insensibility, as we are informed in Vita Epicuri: — "Scribit Stobæus quempiam fuisse qui et non iri captum

amore virum sapientem dixerit, et ipsius Epicuri exemplo inter cæteros id probarit: Chrysippum autem contradixisse, et Epicurum quod attineret, excepisse nihil ex ejus exemplo concludi quoniam foret ἀναίσθητος, sensu carens." This uncandid exposition of an admitted virtue only proves, that the *odium theologicum* is the lineal descendant of the *odium philosophicum*. But be that as it may, we receive evidence from various sources, that Epicurus and his disciples were exact in the practice of virtue, and enjoyed the reputation of men trustworthy in all offices of friendship or integrity. They were neither buffoons nor profligates.

Cicero has a passage, De Natur. Deor. lib. i. cap. 33., which seems not quite consistent with the urbane character elsewhere given of him, and supports the charge brought by Plutarch and others, that he professed to be αὐτοδίδακτος :—

"Sed stomachabatur senex, si quid asperius dixeram? cum Epicurus contumeliosissime Aristotelem vexaverit: Phædoni Socratico turpissime maledixerit: Metrodori, sodalis sui, fratrem, Timocratem, quia nescio quid in philosophia dissentiret, totis voluminibus conciderit: in Democritum ipsum, quem secutus est, fuerit ingratus: Nausiphanem, magistrum suum, a quo nihil (or *nonnihil* according to Pearce's conjecture) didicerat, tam male acceperit."

That Epicurus should have quarrelled with Timocrates, can be matter neither of wonder nor reproach, when we find that refractory disciple not only deserting the sect, but representing his master as a glutton and a drunkard, and joining in those other slanders on the part of the Stoics, which are so clearly refuted in Gassendi's Life of Epi-

curus. Among the most scandalous of these is that relating to Leontium, in Athenæus, lib. xiii. : —

Οὗτος οὖν Ἐπίκουρος οὐ Λεόντιον εἶχεν ἐρωμένην, τὴν ἐπὶ ἑταιρείᾳ διαβόητον γενομένην; ἡ δὲ οὐχ, ὅτε φιλοσοφεῖν ἤρξατο, ἐπαύσατο ἑταιροῦσα, πᾶσί τε τοῖς Ἐπικουρείοις συνῆν ἐν τοῖς κήποις, Ἐπικούρῳ δὲ καὶ ἀναφανδόν· ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον πολλὴν φροντίδα ποιούμενον αὐτῆς, τοῦτ' ἐμφανίζειν διὰ τῶν πρὸς Ἕρμαρχον ἐπιστολῶν.

This is the *Hermachus* of Diogenes Laert. x. 15., and of Cicero De Finib. ii. 30., of the old editions of Athenæus, of Seneca, and of Plutarch. But Villoison shows, from the subscription of a bronze statue found at Herculaneum, and from an unpublished treatise of Philodemus on rhetoric, that the name is as given by Schweighæuser, on these authorities, Hermarchus. He is mentioned by Philodemus, as it appears, as a very celebrated philosopher, and was the heir and successor of Epicurus.

With respect to the numerous letters ascribed to him, on which it has been attempted to establish a disadvantageous impression of his personal character, a large collection of them is stated to have been forged for scandalous purposes: —

Διότιμος δὲ ὁ Στωϊκὸς δυσμενῶς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν, πικρότατα αὐτὸν διαβέβληκεν, ἐπιστολὰς φέρων πεντήκοντα ἀσελγεῖς, ὡς Ἐπικούρου· καὶ τὰ εἰς Χρύσιππον ἀναφερόμενα ἐπιστόλια, ὡς Ἐπικούρου συντάξας.

With respect to the pious frauds, according to the morality of rival schools, and the system of defamation, by which an unfavourable impression of Epicurus was produced, as well as the insidious use made of his doctrine by some of his disciples, we have again an unsuspicious witness in Seneca, De Vita beata, cap. 12. "Ita non ab Epicuro im-

pulsi luxuriantur, sed vitiis dediti, luxuriam suam in philosophiæ sinu abscondunt: et eo concurrunt, ubi audiunt laudari voluptatem. Nec æstimatur voluptas illa Epicuri (ita enim mehercules sentio) quam sobria et sicca sit: sed ad nomen ipsum advolant, quærentes libidinibus suis patrocinium aliquod ac velamentum."

In the same spirit of calumny, a letter appears in the second book of Alciphron, professedly written from Leontium to Lamia. It begins thus: —

Οὐδὲν δυσαρεστότερον ὃς ἔοικεν ἐστὶ πάλιν μειρακιευομένου πρεσβύτου. οἷα μὲ Ἐπίκουρος οὗτος διοικεῖ, πάντα λοιδορῶν, πάντα ὑποπτεύων, ἐπιστολὰς ἀδιαλύτους μοὶ γράφων, ἐκδιώκων ἐκ τοῦ κήπου. μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην εἰ Ἄδωνις ἦν ἤδη ἐγγὺς ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη, οὐκ ἄν αὐτοῦ ἠνεσχόμην φθειριῶντος καὶ φιλονοσοῦντος καὶ κατακεκνιλημένου εὖ μάλα πόκοις ἀντὶ πίλων.

This letter carries internal marks of forgery. Leontium represents her old lover as eighty years of age: now Epicurus died in his seventy-second year, and Leontium died before him. In proof of this we find in Gassendi, that she was either the wife or the mistress *Metrodori, sodalis sui*, as Cicero has it; and that they left a son, mentioned in Epicurus's will, as an orphan recommended by his friend Metrodorus. This anachronism is decisive; and there are other suspicious circumstances about the letter. In the passage above quoted, she says, that he sent her letters written in such a style that no ingenuity can solve their meaning; and in another passage, she says she will rather change this land for some other, ἢ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς διασπάστους ἀνίξομαι. Again she speaks of him in point of language, as if ἐκ Καππαδοκίας πρῶτος τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἦκεν. Now it is very unlikely that his

letters should be *disjointed*, when we have the testimony of Diogenes Laertius, that perspicuity was the sole object of attainment in his style. With respect to the Cappadocian brogue or slang imputed to him, there certainly is a passage in Athenæus immediately before that just quoted, where his style is represented as inelegant: and Casaubon, in his notes, affirms that Epicurus could not speak the Greek language correctly. He does not state his authority for that assertion; so that it may possibly be no better than this lady's supposititious sarcasm on his Cappadocian-like dialect. But the expressions of Athenæus are easily reconcilable with those of Diogenes Laertius. The probability is, that aiming at perspicuity, he neglected the ornaments of eloquence: his periods might be unmelodious, and his style rather let down to vulgar capacity, than raised to the level of polished society; but clearness and connection were necessary in a writer or a lecturer, who wished to lead his classes through the intricacies of so perplexed a labyrinth.

Metrodorus, as well as Timocrates, is said to have deserted the standard of his leader. Against this supposition, Gassendi, De Vita et Moribus Epicuri, adduces the following argument. "Sane si Metrodorus a vivente adhuc Epicuro defecisset, quæsitum non fuisset ex Arcesila (qui duodecim annis Epicuro supervixit) *cur homines a cæteris ad Epicureos, ab Epicureis vero ad cæteros non commigrarent.*" Had two conspicuous instances of desertion been before the public, such a question would scarcely have been put to Arcesilaus. But whatever may be thought of that proof, and Bayle treats it with great contempt, it is not probable

that the son of a person, who had been inconstant in so important a matter as sectarian adherence, would be kindly mentioned in the will of his injured friend: or at all events, however placable that friend might be in his nature, the seceder must have had a more than usual share of assurance, to have been the first proposer of such an adoption. But to the continuance of the friendship between Epicurus and Metrodorus, we have Seneca's testimony. After speaking of Rutilius, Epist. 79. "Nunquid non sorti suæ gratias egit, et exsilium suum complexus est? De his loquor, quos illustravit fortuna, dum vexat: quam multorum profectus in notitiam evasere, post ipsos? quam multos fama non excepit, sed eruit? Vides Epicurum, quantopere non tantum eruditiores, sed hæc quoque imperitorum turba miretur. Hic ignotus ipsis Athenis fuit, circa quas delituerat. Multis itaque jam annis Metrodoro suo superstes, in quadam epistola, cum amicitiam suam et Metrodori, grata commemoratione cecinisset, hoc novissime adjecit, Nihil sibi et Metrodoro inter bona tanta nocuisse, quod ipsos illa nobilis Græcia non ignotos solum habuisset, sed pene inauditos. Numquid ergo non postea, quam esse desierat, inventus est? numquid non opinio ejus emicuit? Hoc Metrodorus quoque in quadam epistola confitetur, se et Epicurum non satis eminuisse: sed post, se et Epicurum, magnum paratumque nomen habituros, apud eos qui voluissent per eadem ire vestigia."

Chrysippus and Epicurus are represented as the two most voluminous writers of the philosophical tribe. Diogenes Laertius, lib. x. num. 26., gives the palm to Epicurus. Γέγονε δὲ πολυγραφώτατος ὁ Ἐπίκουρος, πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος πλήθει βιβλίων.

But Chrysippus was so animated with a spirit of rivalship, that no sooner had Epicurus put forth one book, than he wrote another; and that with so much more haste than good speed, that he fell into continual incorrectness and repetition, in consequence of not allowing himself time to read over his rough copy. On this subject we have a passage in the life of Chrysippus, lib. vii. num. 181. Καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν δογμάτων βουλόμενος παριστάνειν, ὅτι τὰ Ἐπικούρου οἰκεία δυνάμει γεγραμμένα, καὶ ἀπαράθετα ὄντα, μύριῳ πλείω ἐστὶ τῶν Χρυσίππου βιβλίων, φησὶν οὕτως αὐτῇ τῇ λέξει, Εἴ γάρ τις ἀφέλοι τῶν Χρυσίππου βιβλίων ὅσ' ἀλλότρια παρατέθειται, κενὸς αὐτῷ ὁ χάρτης καταλελείψεται. The number of volumes written by Epicurus is stated at three hundred, without a single quotation: Chrysippus, on the contrary, is represented as a mere compiler, confining himself to the collection of authorities.

Without entering into the minutiæ of an exploded philosophy, the leading doctrines of Epicurus are, the atomic system, in which he deviates from the dogma of Democritus concerning the soul of atoms; a set of opinions, which lead in their consequences to impiety, whatever might be the intention or the practice of their author, concerning the nature of the gods: and his method of explaining liberty.

St. Augustin, in his refutation of Democritus, has pointed out a difference between him and Epicurus, which has not been noticed by writers in general. "Quanquam Democritus etiam hoc distare in naturalibus quæstionibus ab Epicuro dicitur, quod iste sentit inesse concursioni atomorum vim quandam animalem et spiritalem: qua vi eum credo et imagines ipsas divinitate præditas

dicere, non omnes omnium rerum, sed deorum, et principia mentis esse in universis quibus divinitatem tribuit, et animantes imagines, quæ vel prodesse nobis soleant vel nocere. Epicurus vero neque aliquid in principiis rerum ponit præter atomos, id-est, corpuscula quædam tam minuta, ut etiam dividi nequeant, neque sentiri, aut visu, aut tactu possint: quorum corpusculorum concursu fortuito, et mundos innumerabiles, et animantia, et ipsas animas fieri dicit, et deos quos humana forma non in aliquo mundo, sed extra mundos, atque inter mundos constituit: et non vult omnino aliquid præter corpora cogitare: quæ tamen ut cogitet, imagines dicit ab ipsis rebus, quas atomis formari putat defluere, atque in animum introire subtiliores quam sunt illæ imagines quæ ad oculos veniunt."

These are vain speculations; but scarcely more so than the distinction of the Peripatetics between matter and the material soul of brutes, the hypothesis of automata, or that of the soul of the world.

On the unavoidable tendency of the atomic philosophy to atheism, Seneca has a strong and pointed passage, accompanied with a candid exception against any inference disadvantageous to the personal piety of Epicurus, and a compliment to the disinterested and philosophical grounds of that piety. "Tu denique, Epicure, Deum inermem facis. Omnia illi tela, omnem detraxisti potentiam, et ne cuiquam metuendus esset, projecisti illum extra motum. Hunc igitur inseptum ingenti quodam et inexplicabili muro, divisumque a contactu et a conspectu mortalium, non habes quare verearis:- nulla illi nec tribuendi, nec nocendi

materia est. . . . Atqui hunc vis videri colere, non aliter quam parentem: grato, ut opinor, animo: aut si non vis videri gratus, quia nullum habes illius beneficium, sed te atomi et istæ micæ tuæ forte ac temere conglobaverunt, cur colis? Propter majestatem, inquis, ejus eximiam, singularemque naturam. Ut concedam tibi: nempe hoc facis nulla spe, nullo pretio inductus. Est ergo aliquid per se expetendum, cujus te ipsa dignitas ducit: id est honestum."—*De Beneficiis*, lib. iv. cap. 19.

Thus much for the lofty, but cold and inefficient principle on which it was attempted to reconcile the eternal existence of matter with the *philosophy* of piety! But the *duties* of piety are appointed to be practised in the temples and in the streets, and not to be treated as subjects of curious speculation in the library, to feed the reveries of abstraction, or give play to the subtleties of argument. Religion, whether considered in the light of philosophy, or as involving the practical rule of life, is not to be treated as a question between the Deity and the student, but between the Deity and the people: it is neither a code of honour for the gentleman, a string of propositions for the theorist, nor a body of laws for the politician or the legislator, to overawe the many-headed beast. It is a system of faith, a rule of practice, and a fund of consolation to all God's creatures; and the lowest are as capable as the highest, the most dull as capable as the most acute, the most shallow as capable as the most profound, of comprehending its plainness, and of appropriating its benefits both temporal and eternal.

The asinine position in which his atoms have placed Epicurus, between Fate and Liberty, is

perplexing to him, and ludicrous to the spectators. But we must not look at him too contemptuously on that account, when we consider the extreme difficulty which modern and Christian metaphysicians find, in settling the limits between free-will and necessity. The question is not, and probably never will be set at rest. The insuperable difficulty seems to be this. If we go the whole length of the former, we seem to deny the prescience of God; for how could any being know, a year ago, or ten thousand years ago, how I shall act an hour hence, when I, a perfectly free agent, am not now determined how I shall act, and do not mean to make up my mind till the last moment? On the other hand, if, to avoid Scylla, we run upon the Charybdis of necessity, we incur the double danger, of setting ourselves free, as machines and not accountable agents, from all moral responsibility, and of making the Deity not only the cause, or to say the least of it, the unpreventing by-stander, but even almost, if not quite, the perpetrator of evil. No Christian philosopher will commit such suicide, as to leap into either of these gulfs: and therefore all endeavour, some more successfully than others, to steer a middle course between them: or, to change the metaphor, they endeavour, like skilful artists, to select such parts of each system as will work up best together, and dove-tail into a uniform and practical piece of machinery. I am not going to be so rash, as to enter far upon this subject; but I think we may feel our way to it, and make something like an approach, in the following manner. How would an ordinary, average man act in such or such circumstances? To this question a person

of sound sense, and much knowledge of the world, will know how to return a shrewd, and probable answer. In fact, the question is asked, and answered, and that not only speculatively and curiously, but the answer is acted upon, every day. Should the question be put respecting the friend of this sensible man, whose general character, private sentiments, peculiarities and oddities are known to him; his quantum of wisdom and good conduct in his grave capacity, as a member of parliament or a churchwarden, his nonsense and folly in the recesses of his family; the answer will be justified by the event in a large majority of cases. But as no man can fathom all the depths of his nearest friend's heart; or, if he could, his own reach of reason would not be far enough to comprehend and estimate unerringly all he might have found there; in a minority, bearing some assignable proportion to the majority of cases, the answer will fail in some points or altogether. Yet this attempt at prescience, whether successful or unsuccessful, has no interfering influence over the liberty and independence of the friend so speculated upon: for we assume the whole discussion to take place with strangers, without the knowledge of the party. Should this party, having acted wrong, be subsequently called to account, and having received a hint that his friend had been prophesying his delinquency, plead predestination as his apology, no jury, no commissioners of bankrupts would listen for a moment to such a plea: the court would so entirely doubt its sincerity, that they would scarcely quarter him on the Lunatic Asylum instead of committing him to gaol. The only difference between the prescience

of the wise man and that of the Deity, but that a most important one, is that the first is fallible, the last infallible. But that infallibility has no tendency whatever to exonerate the evil doer. It lays no more previous obligation to do evil, than would the fallible prognostication which happened to be true, but might have been false.

I do not know whether we may not be assisted in unravelling this tangled thread, by the very perplexities of Epicurus.

To secure his liberty, he thought it necessary to deny that every proposition is either true or false. He was afraid of the affirmative; Chrysippus could not support his fatality with the negative, and thought it inconsistent with common sense. Cicero gives the following account of the controversy. "Itaque contendit omnes nervos Chrysippus, ut persuadeat, omne ἀξίωμα aut verum esse, aut falsum. Ut enim Epicurus veretur, ne, si hoc concesserit, concedendum sit, fato fieri, quæcumque fiant: (si enim alterutrum ex æternitate verum sit, esse id etiam certum: et, si certum, etiam necessarium: ita et necessitatem, et fatum confirmari putat) sic Chrysippus metuit, ne, si non obtinuerit, omne, quod enuntietur, aut verum esse, aut falsum, non teneat, omnia fato fieri, et ex causis æternis rerum futurarum. Sed Epicurus declinatione atomi vitari fati necessitatem putat. Itaque tertius quidam motus oritur extra pondus et plagam, (*deviating from the perpendicular, which he holds to be the natural, and as it were instinctive tendency of the atom,*) cum declinat atomus intervallo minimo. Id appellet ἐλάχιστον. Quam declinationem sine causa fieri si minus verbis, re cogitur confiteri. . . . . Hanc rationem Epicurus

induxit ob eam rem, quod veritus est, ne, si semper atomus gravitate ferretur naturali, ac necessaria, nihil liberum nobis esset, cum ita moveretur animus, ut atomorum motu cogeretur. Hinc Democritus, auctor atomorum, accipere maluit, necessitate omnia fieri, quam a corporibus individuis naturales motus avellere."—*De Fato*, cap. 10. But Cicero had before said, cap. 9., that he need not have denied the doctrine, maintained not only by Chrysippus, but by Leucippus and Democritus from whom he borrowed. "Nec magis erat verum, Morietur Scipio, quam, Morietur illo modo: nec minus necesse mori Scipionem, quam illo modo mori: nec magis immutabile ex vero in falsum, Necatus est Scipio, quam Necabitur Scipio: nec, cum hæc ita sint, est causa, cur Epicurus fatum extimescat, et ab atomis petat præsidium, easque de via deducat, et uno tempore suscipiat res duas inenodabiles; unam, ut sine causa fiat aliquid, ex quo exsistet, ut de nihilo quippiam fiat, quod nec ipsi, nec cuiquam physico placet; alteram, ut, cum duo individua per inanitatem ferantur, alterum e regione moveatur, alterum declinet. Licet enim Epicuro, concedenti, omne enuntiatum aut verum, aut falsum esse, non vereri, ne omnia fato fieri sit necesse: non enim æternis causis, naturæ necessitate manantibus, verum est id, quod ita enuntiatur: Descendit in Academiam Carneades: nec tamen sine causis: sed interest inter causas fortuito antegressas, et inter causas cohibentes in se efficientiam naturalem. Ita et semper verum fuit, Morietur Epicurus, cum duo et septuaginta annos vixerit, Archonte Pytharato; neque tamen erant causæ fatales, cur ita accideret: sed, quod ita cecidisset, certe casurum, sicut cecidit, fuit."

In this illustration touching the period of Epicurus's death, Cicero seems to have laid hold of the subtle, but true distinction, that there were no necessary causes why he should die just at that time; but its having so happened, shows that it was so to happen from accidental causes. Now the question is, whether the *tertius motus* of Epicurus, whimsical as it is in his application of it, may not enable us to avoid the extremes of predestination or the denial of foreknowledge. We probably increase our own difficulties, by looking too exclusively at the final act as a single point, which confessedly must either be or not be, and negligently passing over all that vacillation of purpose and alternation of opinion on the part of the person ultimately acting either right or wrong, which Epicurus would ascribe to *the atoms declining from the direct line in the vacuum*, but which middle state of mind is as much the subject of that foreknowledge, with the exact moment at which hesitation shall subside into resolution, as the overt act which closes the whole. The foreknowledge in question therefore is prophetic, and it is judicial; but it is not compulsory. As the subtlety of the distinction can only be rendered tangible, to those who are not habituated to these discussions, by familiar illustration, the foreknowledge of God may perhaps be best reconciled with the free-will of man, the mercies of his moral providence with the allowance of evil in the world, by running a parallel, but at a vast distance, between his conduct and that of an earthly father. The father, wise and experienced, is anxious to preserve the innocence and virtue of his son; but is aware of all the influence which the temptations of the world exercise over the young and thoughtless. He

might indeed ensure his great object by locking his son up, or at least by never trusting him out of his sight: but he considers that forced virtue is no virtue at all; that a slave, however well he may conduct himself, holds not the moral rank of a free man. He therefore throws his son into general society, at the risk of his plunging into all manner of vice, and with the certainty that he will fall into many errors. How then is his paternal watchfulness to be reconciled with this abandonment? By the indirect mode of its operation. He looks at his son's movements from a distance, he exercises an unperceived influence, by means which though artificially contrived, appear to the subject acted upon not only natural, but accidental. But these means, because they must not be visible nor operate by force, do not always accomplish their end: and the father foreknows such occasional failure, for which he provides this remedy. He lays such a train of consequences, he graduates such a scale of penalty, that the first transgression shall operate as a warning, the second shall produce suffering, but without absolute ruin, the third shall be accompanied with such severe results, as shall be calculated to ensure repentance without engendering despair. Superinduce upon the erroneous calculations of man, perfection and unerring wisdom, and you have something like a theory of Divine Providence, not at variance with free agency. *

* After all, I am conscious of having rather removed the difficulty one step higher, than explained it away. Prescience itself seems accounted for by the analogy given in illustration; but the question remains how to reconcile it with power, and that power almighty. The earthly father, though he foresee evil, cannot prevent it; the Heavenly Father might, but does not. We must here limit our opinions within the sphere of revelation, and abandon vain philosophy.

But to return to Epicurus; we have not yet done with that precious contrivance of his, the declination of atoms. Rather than give up his point to his adversary, he proposes an hypothesis connecting two propositions, between which there is neither connection nor dependence. The soul of man is composed of atoms, which have the common property of other atoms, that they move necessarily in right lines; but the atoms composing the soul are in one respect *sui generis*, that they decline a little from the straight way: therefore the soul of man is a free agent. It is impossible not to ask, *Wherefore?* Let us hear Cicero's criticism on this declination. "Hoc persæpe facitis, ut, cum aliquid non verisimile dicatis, et effugere reprehensionem velitis, afferatis aliquid, quod omnino ne fieri quidem possit; ut satius fuerit illud ipsum, de quo ambigebatur, concedere, quam tam impudenter resistere: velut Epicurus, cum videret, si atomi ferrentur in locum inferiorem suopte pondere, nihil fore in nostra potestate, quod essèt earum motus certus et necessarius; invenit, quo modo necessitatem effugeret, quod videlicet Democritum fugerat. Ait atomum, cum pondere et gravitate directo deorsum feratur, declinare paullulum. Hoc dicere turpius est, quam illud, quod vult, non posse defendere." — *De Natura Deor.* lib. i. cap. 25. So must we think: and the apology of Epicurus for the liberty taken by this class of his atoms, that they have deviated from the up and down of their fellows only *paullulum*, reminds me of an amusing passage in Froissart. The quaint old historian softens down the act of the Count de Foix, in killing his son and heir, Gaston, by alleging ill luck, an evil hour,

the boy's weakness, and the extreme smallness of the point of the knife: in short, he killed his son *paullulum*. The circumstances of the murder, and the causes which led to it, are altogether whimsical. The count had promised his subjects, with whom Gaston was a favourite, that he would not put him to death, though he deserved it; but would only chastise him by two or three months' imprisonment, and then send him on his travels. The youth took his confinement in dudgeon, and would not eat. The count fell into a passion at this, and, in the words of my late friend Mr. Johnes's translation, "without saying a word, left his apartment and went to the prison of his son. In an evil hour, he had in his hand a knife, with which he had been paring and cleaning his nails, he held it by the blade so closely that scarcely the thickness of a groat appeared of the point, when, pushing aside the tapestry that covered the entrance of the prison, through ill luck, he hit his son on a vein of the throat, as he uttered, 'Ha, traitor, why dost thou not eat?' and instantly left the room, without saying or doing any thing more. The youth was much frightened at his father's arrival, and withal exceedingly weak from fasting. The point of the knife, small as it was, cut a vein, which as soon as he felt, he turned himself on one side and died." Let it not be supposed, however, that the Count de Foix was a monster: he behaved like the rest of the world on melancholy occasions: "he ordered his barber to be sent for, and was shaven quite bare: he clothed himself, as well as his whole household, in black."

Carneades, according to Cicero, invented a more subtle solution than that of the Epicureans. "Acu-

tius Carneades, qui docebat, posse Epicureos suam causam sine hac commenticia declinatione defendere. Nam cum doceret, esse posse quendam animi motum voluntarium, id fuit defendi melius, quam introducere declinationem, cujus præsertim causam reperire non possent. Quo defenso, facile Chrysippo possent resistere. . . . . De ipsa atomo dici potest, cum per inane moveatur gravitate et pondere, sine causa moveri, quia nulla causa accedat extrinsecus. Rursus autem, ne omnes a physicis irrideamur, si dicamus, quidquam fieri sine causa, distinguendum est, et ita dicendum, ipsius individui hanc esse naturam, ut pondere et gravitate moveatur, eamque ipsam esse causam, cur ita feratur. Similiter ad animorum motus voluntarios, non est requirenda externa causa. Motus enim voluntarius eam naturam in se ipse continet, ut sit in nostra potestate, nobisque pareat: nec id sine causa. Ejus enim rei causa, ipsa natura est."— *De Fato*, cap. 11. This is ingenious: but it does not seem to exempt us from the fatality of the Stoics. These voluntary motions of the soul, though not dependent on external causes, are dependent on the nature of the soul, in the same manner as the motion of gravity depends on the nature of atoms. Nor do we escape from the difficulty on the Platonic system: for that proceeds on the supposition that matter had a soul, even before God framed the world. Plutarch discusses this question, De Animæ Procreatione, in Timæo Platonis. In the course of that treatise, he thus expresses himself, with respect to the doctrine of atoms: —

Ἐπικούρῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀκαρὲς ἐγκλίναι τὴν ἄτομον συγχωροῦ-

σιν, ὡς ἀναίτιον ἐπεισάγοντι κίνησιν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος· αὐτοὶ δὲ κακίαν καὶ κακοδαιμονίαν τοσαύτην, ἐτέρας τε περὶ σῶμα μυρίας ἀτοπίας καὶ δυσχερείας, αἰτίαν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς οὐκ ἐχούσας, κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν γεγονέναι λέγουσιν.

Lactantius ascribes the popularity of the Epicurean doctrine, not to its merit, but to the alluring term of pleasure. "Epicuri disciplina multo celebrior semper fuit, quam cæterorum, non quia veri aliquid afferat, sed quia multos populare nomen voluptatis invitat."—*Divin. Instit.* lib. iii. cap. 17.

After the revival of learning in the fifteenth century, Epicurus began to be spoken of in more favourable terms, at least in point of morals, than the undistinguishing character of barbarous ages and the prejudices of schoolmen and monks had previously allowed. Gassendi says, "Cum Epicurus infamis fuisset habitus tota illa pene sæculorum serie, qua literæ bonæ sepultæ jacuerunt; vix tamen libros humaniores, pulvere excusso, rediisse in manus ante duo fere sæcula, quam omnes pene eruditi symbolum pro eo contulerunt."—*De Vita et Moribus Epicuri.*

Among many others, some of whom held up Epicurus as the man, of all the ancient philosophers, who came nearest to the truth; some, on the other hand, were content with apologising for his errors; Gassendi mentions Arnaud of Provence. "Andreas Arnaudus Forcalqueriensis in hac Provincia Prosenescallus in libello, cui nomen *Joci*, Apologiam pro Epicuro inter cætera edidit, brevem illam quidem, et foliolis paucis; sed in quâ tamen ea delibantur ex Laërtio præsertim, atque Seneca, unde convincatur, quod vir ille pereruditus initio proponit, *fuisse Epicurum injustius lacessitum, et laniatum ab obtrectatoribus.*"

There are several remarks scattered up and down both Cœlius Rhodiginus and Alexander ab Alexandro, on the doctrines of Epicurus, and the character of the Epicureans. Sir William Temple, in the second part of his Miscellanea, has an elegant and ingenious article on the subject of gardening, written in the year 1685, in which he descants upon the gardens of Epicurus, and defends their owner with considerable address. The essay is well worth perusal, both as to its matter, and as a specimen of the author's style.

I shall close the present subject with a curious passage from Pliny, from which it appears not only that Epicurus was worn on rings and engraved on cups, as a family omen of good luck, but that "Iidem palæstras athletarum imaginibus, et ceromata sua exornant, et vultus Epicuri per cubicula gestant, ac circumferunt secum."—*Natur. Hist.* lib. xxxv.

ON THE ARISTOTELIAN PHILOSOPHY.

MACROBIUS gives an account of an author who expresses himself thus: "Tum ille: Recte et hoc Aristoteles, ut cætera. Nec possum non assentiri viro, cujus inventis nec ipsa natura dissentit."—*Saturn.* lib. vii. cap. 6.

The quantity of Latin and Greek in these pages is much to be regretted: because in consequence thereof the information will reach but few ladies, that the occasion on which this high compliment was paid to the infallible philosopher, whom Nature, the head of the sex, could not well venture to contradict, was most honourable to them. As philosophy was the topic of some of Cicero's dialogues, oratory of others, so the subject of the question in hand was wine: respecting which Aristotle, it seems, had laid down the following dogma; that women get drunk very seldom, but old men very often. The name of the gentleman who admitted the fact, in consideration of the authority, was Disarius: but the very words above quoted intimate, that he was borne down, not convinced. Referring this point to the test of family experience, let us look at less hyperbolical testimonials to the character of a philosopher, who still exercises a considerable, though diminished influence over the opinions of the learned and the scientific. But as his works are extant to tell their own tale,

and as his opinions are before the world, operative in themselves, and the subjects of frequent criticism, not the mere objects of literary curiosity, my remarks on them will run into no considerable length.

" Cum omnis ratio diligens disserendi duas habeat partes; unam inveniendi, alteram judicandi: utriusque princeps, ut mihi quidem videtur, Aristoteles fuit."—*Ciceron. Topic.* cap. 2.

Casaubon thus expresses his opinion of Aristotle's superiority to the Stoics, in the knowledge of logic: " Logicæ peritiam commendat: de qua multum se Stoïci jactabant: ego pueros puto fuisse, præ divino Aristotele: et eorum in hoc genere scripta ὕθλον καὶ φλήναφον, præ Aristotelis Organo: quo opere omnia mortalium ingenia (divina aut de rebus divinis semper excipio:) longe superavit."—*In Persium*, sat. v. lin. 86.

Rapin has this passage in his Reflections on Logic:—Il ne parût rien de réglé et d'étably sur la Logique, devant Aristote. Ce génie si plein de raison et d'intelligence, approfondit tellement l'abysme de l'esprit humain, qu'il en pénétra tous les ressors, par la distinction exacte, qu'il fit de ses opérations. On n'avoit point encore sondé ce vaste fond des pensées de l'homme, pour en connoistre la profondeur. Aristote fut le premier, qui découvrit cette nouvelle voye, pour parvenir à la science, par l'évidence de la démonstration, et pour aller géométriquement à la démonstration, par l'infaillibilité du syllogisme, l'ouvrage le plus accomply, et l'effort le plus grand de l'esprit humain. Voilà en abrégé l'art et la méthode de la Logique d'Aristote, qui est si seure, qu'on ne peut avoir de parfaite certitude dans le raisonnement que par

cette méthode: laquelle est une règle de penser juste, ce qu'il faut penser."—Num. iv. p. 374, 375.

That both the Logic and the Physics of Aristotle are the productions of an exalted genius, copious in invention, and profound in appreciation, is what no one will pretend to dispute with his panegyrists: but his defects are also so numerous, as to have made the emancipation of our schools from his dominion a subject of congratulatory joy. He forsook the path of his most eminent predecessors. The natural philosophers before him had accounted for the changes in the outward form of matter, from some new modification of its particles; but he, in his book De Generatione et Corruptione, maintained the doctrine of generation, properly so called. He likewise introduced a countless number of forms and qualities, distinct from substance, which bewildered his followers, and filled their mouths with a jargon about entities, and so forth, to abolish which, and to substitute the rationality of experimental philosophy, required the practical good sense of the seventeenth century, and such a genius as that of Bacon to give it its proper direction.

In Father Rapin's Comparison of Plato and Aristotle, he refers to Baronius's Ecclesiastical Annals of the years 120 and 208, and to the twenty-seventh chapter of Eusebius's History, for the fact of divine honours paid to this philosopher.

"Les Carpocratiens furent condamnez pour avoir mis l'image de ce Philosophe avec celle de Jesus Christ, et pour l'avoir adorée par une extravagance de zèle pour sa doctrine. Les Aëtiens furent excommuniéz par l'Eglise, et par les Arriens même,

dont ils éstoient sortis: parce qu'ils donnoient à leurs disciples les Catégories d'Aristote pour Catéchisme. Les Antinomiens allerent jusques à cet excès d'impiété, que de porter plus de respect à ce sage Payen, qu'à la Sagesse incréée."—Page 392.

In another passage of the same work, he finds out a curious reason for the strong cry of the first reformers against the Peripatetics. "Mais rien ne fit plus d'honneur à la doctrine de ce grand homme dans le siècle passé, que les invectives atroces de Luther, de Melancthon, de Bucer, de Calvin, de Postel, de Paul Sarpy, et de tous ceux qui écrivirent alors contre l'Eglise Romaine. Car ils ne se plaignent tous d'Aristote que parce que la solidité de sa méthode donne un grand avantage aux Catholiques pour découvrir les ruses et les artifices des faux raisonnemens, dont se sert l'hérésie pour déguiser le mensonge et détruire la vérité."—Page 412. Here is an admission on the part of the Father, that Aristotle was deposed in our schools, and Protestantism (for we must not ask him to call it Reformation) established in our churches almost simultaneously: he says, because Aristotle's method of disputing was formidable to innovators: we say, because the rank luxuriance of his system overshadowed, choked up, and hindered the growth of true, healthful, and vital religion.

Suidas makes Aristotle Nature's secretary:—Ὅτι Ἀριστοτέλης τῆς φύσεως γραμματεὺς ἦν, τὸν κάλαμον ἀποβρέχων εἰς νοῦν· ὃν οὐδὲν ἴσως ἐχρῆν τῶν χρησίμων, εἰ καὶ τεχνικώτερόν ἐστι καὶ περιττότερον ἐξειργασμένον, παραιτεῖσθαι.

To his reputation as a teacher during his lifetime, we have the sanction of Philip's judgment:—"Neque vero hoc fugit sapientissimum regem,

Philippum, qui hunc Alexandro filio doctorem accierit, a quo eodem ille et agendi acciperet præcepta et loquendi." — *Cic. de Orat.* lib. iii.

It was after the residence of Aristotle for three years with Hermias, that Philip, king of Macedon, made himself master of Thrace, and almost of all Greece. Knowing Aristotle's high character, he wrote him a very civil letter of invitation, proposing the office of tutor to his son Alexander, who was then about fourteen years old. Aristotle accepted the office, and continued for eight years in the train of the young prince. The subjects of his tuition were, eloquence, natural philosophy, morals, politics, and the occult sciences. On this latter subject, Plutarch speaks of a private system of philosophy, which the professor withheld from all but his royal disciple, with respect to whose zeal for knowledge, we have the following account: — "Alexandro Magno rege inflammato cupidine animalium naturas noscendi, delegataque hac commentatione Aristoteli, summo in omni doctrina viro, aliquot millia hominum in totius Asiæ Græciæque tractu parere jussa, omnium quos venatus, aucupia, piscatusque alebant: quibusque vivaria, armenta, alvearia, piscinæ, aviaria in cura erant: ne quid usquam genitum ignoraretur ab eo: quos percunctando, quinquaginta ferme volumina illa præclara de animalibus condidit: quæ a me collecta in arctum, cum iis quæ ignoraverat, quæso ut legentes boni consulant, in universis rerum naturæ operibus, medioque clarissimi regum omnium desiderio, cura nostra breviter peregrinantes."—*Plin.* l. viii. cap. 16.

Plutarch tells us, that Alexander was angry with his preceptor for having published any part of his lectures; and under the influence of such feelings,

had paid particular attention to Xenocrates. Aristotle was so highly offended at this, that he became a party to Antipater's conspiracy. That blockhead Caracalla aped Alexander in every thing, and fancied himself to be involved in similar destinies. He had taken it into his head that Aristotle had contributed to Alexander's death, and therefore expelled the Peripatetic philosophers from Alexandria. But the opinion that there was any permanent misunderstanding between the prince and the philosopher was entirely unfounded. Alexander gave no credit to the suggestion of treason; and after Callisthenes's death, and in the full career of victory, he gave Aristotle commission, as the above passage of Pliny informs us, to pursue the history and philosophy of animals with the utmost vigour, and to the greatest extent. "Persecutus est Aristoteles animantium omnium ortus, victus, figuras."—*Cic. de Fin.* lib. v.

Aristotle's method was diametrically opposite to that of Plato and Pythagoras:—"Siquidem, quæ illi de substantiis intelligibilibus, aut numeris, et reliquis hujusmodi dixere, ea Aristoteles ad res corporeas transtulit, sensuique subjectas."—*Bessar. Card. in Calum.* lib. ii. cap. 4. Plato's system is, that to arrive at the knowledge of things, we must begin with universals and descend to particulars. Aristotle's doctrine is, that from the knowledge of particular things addressing the senses, we rise to the knowledge of general and immaterial things. He lays down the following as an unquestionable principle: "Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu." According to the constitution of man, there can be no certainty in our judgment of sensible things, by any other criterion than that of

the senses. In this position he completely coincides with the modern experimental philosopher. Plato's maxim is, to arrive at the knowledge of things by ideas, which are to be considered as their originals: Aristotle's is, to arrive at the knowledge of them by the effects, which are the expressions and the copies of those ideas. The order established by Plato is that of nature, following herself out, in a progress from cause to effects: Aristotle's order goes to the cause by means of the effect. But sense is fallible: for which reason the knowledge of universals, founded on the knowledge of particulars, is faulty in principle, and liable to error in practice. Aristotle endeavours to find the means of rectifying the principle, and rendering it infallible, by what he calls his *universal organ.*

In a book of Cicero before quoted, Aristotle is represented as possessing talent so superior to all other talents, that few persons can keep pace with him. "Quod quidem minime sum admiratus, eum philosophum rhetori non esse cognitum, qui ab ipsis philosophis, præter admodum paucos, ignoraretur."—*Topic.* cap. 1.

The general character of his opinions, making allowance for the maze in which all Greek philosophy was involved, was that of wisdom and sound judgment, regularity and solidity, giving more satisfaction to the mind than the system either of the Stoics or the Epicureans. Altered as are the habits of philosophising, there are few rational maxims of which some trace and impression is not to be found in him, however encumbered by hard terms or obscurity of expression. No person ever entertained a higher opinion of human reason, and few have carried it so far. A passage has already

been quoted from Pliny: he thus mentions him in another place:—"Sed idem Aristoteles, vir immensæ subtilitatis, qui id ipsum fecit, rationem convexitatis mundi reddit, qua contrarius Aquilo Africo flat." The obscurity with which he is reproached, must in justice be partly attributed to his subjects, and to the profundity with which he treats them. He soars into the clouds, and dives into the deep. He aims at developing all the secrets of nature: the precipices are his pathway: the ordinary road of truth is left to common minds; and he delights to travel where he can have but few companions. His writings have more force than elegance; and they certainly are, however pardonably, deficient in clearness. This fault is in some measure produced by the extreme conciseness of his style; which occasions a constraint and embarrassment in his elocution. His manner seems more calculated to surprise than to persuade: it would be necessary, it has been observed, to hear him speak to understand his doctrine. An affectation of obscurity on some occasions conceals what Pythagoras concealed under symbols, and Plato under allegories. This disposition to outrun those whom he professes to guide, has been very instrumental in undermining his popularity with the moderns: and Bacon, in his Essays, accuses him of ostentation: but strangely enough, he associates Socrates and Galen in the charge. Casaubon, on the contrary, in his notes on Laertius, in the same spirit in which he panegyrises him in the Commentary on Persius, says that none but sophists and rhetoricians, proverbially superficial, ever speak ill of him. He quotes the sentiment of an ancient philosopher to

that effect, who says that the criticisms of his censurers recoil upon themselves.

With respect to his style, it meets with Cicero's approbation in his Brutus. "Quis Aristotele nervosior, Theophrasto dulcior? Lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur: idque apparet ex genere et granditate verborum." Rapin thinks he can never say enough on the discovery of the syllogism. "Et cette construction du syllogisme, qui est la véritable Logique d'Aristote est si parfaite en son genre, qu'on n'a pû depuis y rien ajoûter, ny rien diminuer, sans la gâter. Quand on a le sens droit, on ne peut souffrir d'autre manière de raisonner, ny d'autres principes du raisonnement, que ceux d'Aristote. Et comme l'on dispute de tout temps contre la raison: parce que c'est d'ordinaire l'opinion qui gouverne le monde: les siècles sénséz ne se sont distinguez des autres, que par l'estime qu'ils ont faite de la Logique d'Aristote." — *Réflexions sur la Logique.*

Among the moderns who have formed themselves on the ancients Descartes holds a distinguished place. He was one of the first who united Geometry with Physics. To exquisite skill in the former, he added a strong imagination, fertile in new and curious ideas. It is true, he raised for himself a superstructure on a sandy foundation; and therefore it did not stand: but at all events he performed the service of Samson, in pulling down the temple of the Philistines. His principles of motion, figure, and extension, were nearly the same with those of Democritus and Epicurus. An amusing story is told by Rapin, that Father Mersene, who was his resident at Paris,

having mentioned one day in a company of learned men, that Monsieur Descartes, who had acquired a high character in Geometry, was drawing up a system of Natural Philosophy, in which he admitted a *vacuum*, the system was ridiculed by Robertoul and some others, who prophesied that on such a foundation it would come to nothing. Father Mersene wrote to him, that a *vacuum* was just then out of fashion at Paris. On this information, Descartes felt himself obliged to change his scheme, in conformity with the notions of the Natural Philosophers in vogue, for whose support he was a candidate, and to admit the *plenum* of Leucippus. "Ainsi l'exclusion du vuide devint par politique un de ses principes." To obviate the difficulties started by Gassendi, he invented his doctrine of subtle matter, which was to suit itself to all the solid interstices, between the larger solid bodies, necessarily clogging and interfering with each other, unless we allow some fluid, yielding matter to give way to the motions of the other. Thus did he endeavour in some measure to reconcile the two opinions of the *plenum* and the *vacuum*: to which temporising conduct he was probably induced, not merely by the ambition of being the most fashionable philosopher, but by the strong hint given to the learned world in general, in the person of Galileo, who was at this time thrown into the Inquisition, for asserting the earth's motion. The consequence of this complaisance to the taste of the age was, that Descartes was not himself satisfied with his own after-thought of the *plenum* and subtle matter, and therefore supports it with less than his natural power, especially in what regarded the principle of motion. Divines have

with much justice objected to his metaphysics, from the sceptical tendency they encourage. They are set forth in his Meditationes de prima Philosophia. In the first of these he propounds the reasons why we ought to doubt of all things in general, the advantage of which he states to consist in delivering us from all kinds of prejudices arising from education and commonly received but unexamined impressions; and even disengaging our minds from sense, that we may not any longer doubt of the things, which we shall afterwards discover to be true. But is it certain that we shall discover these truths? Does he not ask us to give up much more than he can satisfactorily engage to replace by his system? His method resembles that of the Pythagoreans, spoken of by Aristotle, who do not so much endeavour to assign a reason for the things which they explain, as to make every thing bend to the principles they have assumed; in like manner he seems not to consider his system as made to suit the sensible, and therefore we may suppose actual constitution of things, but the sensible and actual constitution of things as made to suit his system.

CHARACTER OF TIMON THE MISANTHROPE.

Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπὼν καὶ τὰς μετὰ τῶν φίλων διατριβὰς, οἴκησιν ἔναλον κατεσκεύαζεν αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Φάρον, εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν χῶμα προβαλών· καὶ διῆγεν αὐτόθι φυγὰς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὸν Τίμωνος ἀγαπᾷν καὶ ζηλοῦν βίον ἔφασκεν, ὡς δὴ πεπονθὼς ὅμοια· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ φίλων καὶ ἀχαριστηθεὶς, διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστεῖν καὶ δυσχεραίνειν. Ὁ δὲ Τίμων ἦν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς καὶ γέγονεν ἡλικία μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Πλάτωνος* δραμάτων λαβεῖν ἐστιν. Κωμῳδεῖται γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις ὡς δυσμενὴς καὶ μισάνθρωπος· ἐκκλίνων δὲ καὶ διαθούμενος ἅπασαν ἔντευξιν, Ἀλκιβιάδην νέον ὄντα καὶ θρασὺν ἠσπάζετο καὶ κατεφίλει προθύμως. Ἀπημάντου δὲ θαυμάσαντος, καὶ πυθομένου τὴν αἰτίαν, φιλεῖν ἔφη τὸν νεανίσκον, εἰδὼς ὅτι πολλῶν Ἀθηναίοις κακῶν αἴτιος ἔσοιτο. Τὸν δὲ Ἀπήμαντον μόνον, ὡς ὅμοιον αὐτῷ καὶ ζηλοῦντα τὴν διαίταν, ἔστιν ὅτε προσίετο· καὶ ποτὲ τῆς τῶν χοῶν † οὔσης ἑορτῆς, εἱστιῶντο καθ' αὑτοὺς οἱ δύο. Τοῦ δ' Ἀπημάντου φήσαντος, Ὡς καλὸν, ὦ Τίμων, τὸ συμπόσιον ἡμῶν; Εἴγε σὺ, ἔφη, μὴ παρῇς. Λέγεται δὲ, Ἀθηναίων ἐκκλησιαζόντων, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ποιῆσαι σιωπὴν καὶ προσδοκίαν μεγάλην διὰ τὸ παράδοξον· εἶτα εἰπεῖν, Ἔστι μοι μικρὸν οἰκόπεδον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ συκῆ τις ἐν αὐτῷ πέφυκεν, ἐξ ἧς ἤδη συχνοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπήγξαντο. μέλλων οὖν οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν τόπον, ἐβουλήθην δημοσίᾳ προειπεῖν ἵνα ἂν ἄρα τινὲς ἐθέλωσιν ὑμῶν, πρὶν ἐκκοπῆναι τὴν συκῆν, ἀπάγξωνται. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ταφέντος Ἅλῃσι παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥλισθε τὰ προὔχοντα τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ· καὶ τὸ

* The comic writer of that name.

† This feast took place on the second or middle day of the Anthesteria.

κῦμα περιελθὸν, ἄβατον καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον ἀνθρώπῳ πεποίηκε τὸν τάφον. Ἦν δ' ἐπιγεγραμμένον,

Ἐνθάδ' ἀποῤῥήξας ψυχὴν βαρυδαίμονα κεῖμαι.
Τοὔνομα δ' οὐ πεύσοισθε, κακοὶ δὲ κακῶς ἀπόλοισθε.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸν ἔτι ζῶντα πεποιηκέναι λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ περιφερόμενον, Καλλιμάχειόν ἐστι,

Τίμων μισάνθρωπος ἐσοικέω· ἀλλὰ πάρελθε,
Οἰμώζειν εἰπὰς πολλὰ, πάρελθε μόνον.

Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ Τίμωνος ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγα.

PLUTARCHUS.

THE character of Timon derives its principal interest from Shakspeare's adoption. The question of Shakspeare's learning is set at rest by Dr. Farmer's conclusive essay on the subject, equally satisfactory as a curious collection of facts, and a model of argumentative criticism. He certainly did not understand the Greek language; but there was already an English Plutarch, from which he versified closely in all his dramas connected with ancient history. Painter had also described Timon as "a manhater, of a strange and beastly nature," in his Palace of Pleasure; but the cause of his misanthropy is not assigned. Shakspeare has described the cause as well as the effect: and has evidently taken his hint from the beginning of the passage above quoted, where the temporary feelings of Antony furnish Plutarch with the only ground for introducing anecdotes of Timon at all. Dr. Farmer conjectures, from a passage in an old play, called Jack Drum's Entertainment, or Pasquil and Katherine, of the year 1601, that Timon was not new to the stage. Mr. Steevens thinks the allusion in a single line, and that by way

of comparison, might with as much probability refer to Plutarch or the Palace of Pleasure. But Mr. Strutt, the engraver and antiquary, was possessed of a manuscript play on the subject, written, or at least transcribed, about the year 1600, probably a year before Jack Drum's Entertainment, and ten years before Timon of Athens. The passage on which Dr. Farmer forms his conjecture might refer to this play: but it is immaterial; as there are much stronger grounds for supposing that Mr. Strutt's play was not unknown to Shakspeare. Of this there is a very curious evidence in the second banquet-scene. The last line of it, and of the third Act, is this: —

One day he gives us diamonds, next day stones.

Now in the second scene of the first Act, he had requested the first Lord to "*advance* this jewel," to prefer it; to raise it to honour by wearing it. But at the second banquet, he had thrown no stones at his guests; he had only thrown warm water in their faces, and empty dishes at their heads. In the parallel scene of the more ancient drama, there is no warm water: but painted stones, resembling artichokes, form a part of his entertainment. There can therefore be little doubt, that Shakspeare intended to adopt that incident, but forgot it in the carelessness of composition: in closing the scene, he recollected it; and without troubling himself to look whether he had inserted it or not, he took it for granted he had made Timon fling the artichokes with their dishes, and without any propriety made the fourth Lord mention those missiles in antithesis with the former jewels.

There is another circumstance which increases the probability of his being acquainted with this play, or with some other English story besides those of Plutarch and Painter. There are several incidents in Timon of Athens, evidently originating with Lucian: but that admirable dialogue, the delight of the classical reader, had not been put into an English dress at the period in question. I shall give a passage or two of Lucian, as a specimen of his humour. The reception of Philiades and Demea, after they were aware that he was possessed of great sums of gold which he had dug up in the woods, is paralleled by his treatment of the Poet, the Painter, and the Senators, which winds up his character in Shakspeare: —

ΤΙ. Τίς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ προσιών, ὁ ἀναφαλαντίας; Φιλιάδης, κολάκων ἁπάντων ὁ βδελυράτατος. οὗτος δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀγρὸν ὅλον λαβών, καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ προῖκα δύο τάλαντα, μισθὸν τοῦ ἐπαίνου, ὅτε ᾄσαντά με, πάντων σιωπώντων, μόνος ὑπερεκήνεσεν, ἐπομοσάμενος φδικώτερον εἶναι τῶν κύκνων, ἐπειδὰν νοσοῦντα πρώην εἶδέ με, καὶ προσῆλθον ἐπικουρίας δεόμενος, πληγαὶς ὁ γενναῖος προσενέτεινε.

ΦΙ. Ὦ τῆς ἀναισχυντίας! Νῦν Τίμωνα γνωρίζετε; νῦν Γναθωνίδης φίλος καὶ συμπότης; τοιγαροῦν δίκαια πέπονθεν οὗτος ἀχάριστος ὤν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ πάλαι ξυνήθεις καὶ ξυνέφηβοι, καὶ δημόται, ὅμως μετριάζομεν, ὡς μὴ ἐπιπηδᾶν δοκῶμεν. Χαῖρε, ὦ δέσποτα· καὶ ὅπως τοὺς μιαροὺς τούτους κόλακας φυλάξῃ, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μόνον, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ κοράκων οὐδὲν διαφέροντας· οὐκ ἔτι πιστευτέα τῶν νῦν οὐδενί· πάντες ἀχάριστοι, καὶ πονηροί. Ἐγὼ δὲ τάλαντόν σοι κομίζων, ὡς ἔχοις πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα χρῆσθαι, καθ' ὁδὸν ἤδη πλησίον ἤκουσα ὡς πλουτοίης ὑπερμεγέθη τινὰ πλοῦτον. Ἥκω τοιγαροῦν ταῦτά σε νουθετήσων· καίτοι σύ γε οὕτω σοφὸς ὤν, οὐδὲν ἴσως δεήσῃ τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγων, ὃς καὶ τῷ Νέστορι τὸ δέον παραινέσειας ἄν. ΤΙ. Ἔσται ταῦτα, ὦ Φιλιάδη. Πλὴν ἀλλὰ πρόσιθι, ὡς καὶ σὲ φιλοφρονήσομαι τῇ

δικέλλῃ. ΦΙ. Ἄνθρωποι, κατέαγα τοῦ κρανίου ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀχαρίστου, διότι τὰ συμφέροντα ἐνουθέτουν αὐτὸν.

There is much wit in the decree which Demea brings making him out a conqueror at the Olympic games; and when Timon says that he never was there, the sycophant says, Well! but you will be there. The decree then makes him fight against the Peloponnesians; to which he again makes the following slight objection of impossibility, notwithstanding which the decree proceeds in all solemnity and magnificence, to detail the honours voted to him. The decree itself affords a specimen of an Athenian parliamentary address: —

ΤΙ. Πῶς; διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ὅπλα, οὐδὲ προεγράφην ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ. ΔΗ. Μέτρια τὰ περὶ σαυτοῦ λέγεις· ἡμεῖς ἀχάριστοι ἂν εἴημεν ἀμνημονοῦντες. "Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ψηφίσματα γράφων, καὶ συμβουλεύων, καὶ στρατηγῶν, οὐ μικρὰ ὠφέλησε τὴν πόλιν· Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασι δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τῇ Ἡλιαίᾳ κατὰ φυλὰς, καὶ τοῖς δήμοις ἰδίᾳ, καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσι, χρυσοῦν ἀναστῆσαι τὸν Τίμωνα παρὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, κεραυνὸν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ ἔχοντα, καὶ ἀκτῖνας ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ· καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις ἕπτα· καὶ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι τοὺς στεφάνους τήμερον Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· ἀχθῆναι γὰρ δι' αὐτὸν δεῖ τήμερον τὰ Διονύσια. Εἶπε τὴν γνώμην Δημέας ὁ ῥήτωρ συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ, ἀγχιστεὺς καὶ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ ὤν. Καὶ γὰρ ῥήτωρ ἄριστος ὁ Τίμων, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὁπόσα ἂν ἐθέλοι."

The character of Timon in Shakspeare is gradually and finely developed. In the outset he is the munificent patron, and the accomplished courtier, the model of condescension and generosity, with a fashionable air of affected modesty: —

O, by no means,
Honest Ventidius; you mistake my love;

I gave it freely ever; and there's none
Can truly say, he gives, if he receives:
If our betters play at that game, we must not dare
To imitate them; Faults that are rich, are fair.

But what he has already given is not sufficient for the occasion. He fancies he could deal out cards, and distribute kingdoms without grudging them: —

I take all and your several visitations
So kind to heart, 'tis not enough to give;
Methinks, I could deal kingdoms to my friends,
And ne'er be weary. — Alcibiades,
Thou art a soldier, therefore seldom rich,
It comes in charity to thee: for all thy living
Is 'mongst the dead; and all the lands thou hast
Lie in a pitch'd field.

The usual consequences of even virtuous profusion have befallen Timon. He is beggared through want of prudence. But he takes comfort to himself from the reflection, that his ruin was not occasioned by the pursuit of guilty pleasures: —

Come, sermon me no further:
No villainous bounty yet hath pass'd my heart;
Unwisely, not ignobly, have I given.
Why dost thou weep? Canst thou the conscience lack,
To think I shall lack friends? Secure thy heart;
If I would broach the vessels of my love,
And try the argument of hearts by borrowing,
Men, and men's fortunes, could I frankly use,
As I can bid thee speak.

The limits of an essay will not allow us to follow all the gradations of character; having selected

the traits most at variance with the ultimate misanthropy, but leading through self-culpatory reflections on the past, with a strong hope resting on a favourable opinion of human nature, founded on the careless observation of a person too noble and too splendid to sift narrowly, and again disappointed in that liberal construction, we must follow Timon to the woods: —

O blessed breeding sun, draw from the earth
Rotten humidity; below thy sister's orb
Infect the air! Twinn'd brothers of one womb, —
Whose procreation, residence and birth,
Scarce is dividant, — touch them with several fortunes;
The greater scorns the lesser: Not nature,
To whom all sores lay siege, can bear great fortune,
But by contempt of nature.
Raise me this beggar, and deny't that lord;
The senator shall bear contempt hereditary,
The beggar native honour.
It is the pasture lards the brother's sides,
The want that makes him lean. Who dares, who dares,
In purity of manhood stand upright,
And say, *This man's a flatterer?* if one be,
So are they all; for every grize of fortune
Is smooth'd by that below: the learned pate
Ducks to the golden fool: all is oblique;
There's nothing level in our cursed natures,
But direct villainy. Therefore, be abhorr'd
All feasts, societies, and throngs of men!
His semblance, yea, himself, Timon disdains:
Destruction fang mankind! — Earth, yield me roots!
[*digging.*
Who seeks for better of thee, sauce his palate
With thy most operant poison! What is here?
Gold? yellow, glittering, precious gold? No, gods,
I am no idle votarist. Roots, you clear heavens!
Thus much of this will make black, white; foul, fair;

Wrong, right; base, noble; old, young; coward, valiant.
Ha, you gods! Why this? What this, you gods? Why
this
Will lug your priests and servants from your sides;
Pluck stout men's pillows from below their heads:
This yellow slave
Will knit and break religions; bless the accurs'd;
Make the hoar leprosy ador'd; place thieves,
And give them title, knee, and approbation,
With senators on the bench: this is it,
That makes the wappen'd widow wed again;
She, whom the spital-house, and ulcerous sores
Would cast the gorge at, this embalms and spices
To the April day again. Come, damned earth,
Thou common whore of mankind, that put'st odds
Among the rout of nations, I will make thee
Do thy right nature.—[*march afar off*]—Ha! a drum?
—Thou'rt quick,
But yet I'll bury thee: Thou'lt go, strong thief,
When gouty keepers of thee cannot stand:—
Nay, stay thou out for earnest. [*keeping some gold.*

It has been observed that Plutarch gave the tone to our author's delineation of the character. The old translation of Plutarch's Life of Antony furnished him with a learned term, as well as with an anecdote in relation to Alcibiades, which he has ingeniously adapted to his purpose in the present scene:—

I am *misanthropos*, and hate mankind.
For thy part, I do wish thou wert a dog,
That I might love thee something.

The following answer to Alcibiades's question is in Shakspeare's best style:—

That,
By killing villains, thou wast born to conquer
My country.
Put up thy gold; Go on, — here's gold, — go on;
Be as a planetary plague, when Jove
Will o'er some high-vic'd city hang his poison
In the sick air: Let not thy sword skip one:
Pity not honour'd age for his white beard,
He's an usurer: Strike me the counterfeit matron;
It is her habit only that is honest:
Let not the virgin's cheek
Make soft thy trenchant sword: spare not the babe,
Whose dimpled smiles from fools exhaust their mercy,
But mince it sans remorse: Swear against objects;
Put armour on thine ears, and on thine eyes;
Whose proof, nor yells of mothers, maids, nor babes,
Nor sight of priests in holy vestments bleeding,
Shall pierce a jot. There's gold to pay thy soldiers;
Make large confusion, and, thy fury spent,
Confounded be thyself! Speak not, be gone.

His curses upon Phrynia and Timandra are coarse, but full of that pithy expression, in which our elder poets gave themselves full scope. The moderns have gained much in delicacy, but lost much in force, and in that caustic satire and reprehension, which makes vice wince instead of tickling it. After the departure of Alcibiades and his *beagles*, Timon bursts out into the following angry soliloquy: —

That nature being sick of man's unkindness,
Should yet be hungry! — Common mother, thou,
[*digging.*
Whose womb unmeasurable, and infinite breast,
Teems, and feeds all; whose self-same mettle,
Whereof thy proud child, arrogant man, is puff'd,
Engenders the black toad, and adder blue,

The gilded newt, and eyeless venom'd worm;
Yield him, who all thy human sons doth hate,
From forth thy plenteous bosom, one poor root!
Ensear thy fertile and conceptious womb,
Let it no more bring out ingrateful man!
Go great with tigers, dragons, wolves, and bears;
Teem with new monsters, whom thy upward face
Hath to the marbled mansion all above
Never presented! — O, a root, — Dear thanks!
Dry up thy marrows, vines, and plough-torn leas;
Whereof ingrateful man, with liquorish draughts,
And morsels unctuous, greases his pure mind,
That from it all consideration slips!

Timon's severity to Apemantus is bitter beyond all bitterness, as Dr. Johnson expresses it. He had not virtue enough for the vices he condemns. We may add, that with a deep insight into human nature, our author makes Timon apologise for himself at the expense of his brother Cynic, by a proud reference to his own early fortunes, which shows that though he outwardly professed contempt of mankind, he had an inward feeling that it was necessary to his satisfaction, to stand as well in public estimation and in his own, as his nature and circumstances would permit. The speech is in the entire spirit of aristocracy, showing itself naturally in unnatural, at least unusual circumstances: —

Not by his breath, that is more miserable.
Thou art a slave, whom Fortune's tender arm
With favour never clasp'd; but bred a dog.
Hadst thou, like us, from our first swath, proceeded
The sweet degrees that this brief world affords
To such as may the passive drugs of it
Freely command, thou would'st have plung'd thyself

In general riot; melted down thy youth
In different beds of lust; and never learn'd
The icy precepts of respect, but follow'd
The sugar'd game before thee. But myself,
Who had the world as my confectionary;
The mouths, the tongues, the eyes, and hearts of men
At duty, more than I could frame employment:
That numberless upon me stuck, as leaves
Do on the oak, have with one winter's brush
Fell from their boughs, and left me open, bare
For every storm that blows; — I, to bear this,
That never knew but better, is some burden:
Thy nature did commence in sufferance, time
Hath made thee hard in't. Why should'st thou hate men?
They never flatter'd thee: What hast thou given?
If thou wilt curse, — thy father, that poor rag,
Must be thy subject; who, in spite, put stuff
To some she beggar, and compounded thee,
Poor rogue hereditary. Hence! be gone! —
If thou hadst not been born the worst of men,
Thou hadst been a knave, and flatterer.

The tirade against the thieves bears considerable resemblance to Albumazar; and there has been much contest among the critics for the right of eldership between the two: —

Nor on the beasts themselves, the birds, and fishes;
You must eat men. Yet thanks I must you con,
That you are thieves profess'd; that you work not
In holier shapes: for there is boundless theft
In limited professions. Rascal thieves,
Here's gold: Go, suck the subtle blood of the grape,
Till the high fever seeth your blood to froth,
And so 'scape hanging: trust not the physician;
His antidotes are poison, and he slays
More than you rob: take wealth and lives together;
Do villainy, do, since you profess to do't,

Like workmen. I'll example you with thievery:
The sun's a thief, and with his great attraction
Robs the vast sea: the moon's an arrant thief,
And her pale fire she snatches from the sun:
The sea's a thief, whose liquid surge resolves
The moon into salt tears: the earth's a thief,
That feeds and breeds by a composture stole
From general excrement: each thing's a thief,
The laws, your curb and whip, in their rough power
Have uncheck'd theft. Love not yourselves; away:
Rob one another. There's more gold: Cut throats;
All that you meet are thieves: To Athens, go,
Break open shops; nothing can you steal,
But thieves do lose it: Steal not less, for this
I give you; and gold confound you howsoever!
Amen. [TIMON *retires to his cave.*

The momentary approach to reconciliation with mankind, to softness and composure, on experiencing the kindness and fidelity of his steward, is happily shaded off from the frenzy into which he had been driven, by the baseness and ingratitude of the world: —

Had I a steward so true, so just, and now
So comfortable? It almost turns
My dangerous nature wild. Let me behold
Thy face. Surely, this man was born of woman. —
Forgive my general and exceptless rashness,
You perpetual-sober gods! I do proclaim
One honest man, — mistake me not, — but one;
No more, I pray, — and he is a steward. —
How fain would I have hated all mankind,
And thou redeem'st thyself: But all, save thee,
I fell with curses.
Methinks, thou art more honest now, than wise;
For, by oppressing and betraying me,
Thou might'st have sooner got another service:

For many so arrive at second masters,
Upon their first lord's neck. But tell me true,
(For I must ever doubt, though ne'er so sure,)
Is not thy kindness subtle, covetous,
If not an usuring kindness; and as rich men deal gifts,
Expecting in return twenty for one?

The scene with the Poet and the Painter has been already mentioned as parallel with Lucian. It closes thus: —

You that way, and you this, but two in company: —
Each man apart, all single and alone,
Yet an arch-villain keeps him company.
If, where thou art, two villains shall not be,
[*to the Painter.*
Come not near him. — If thou would'st not reside
[*to the Poet.*
But where one villain is, then him abandon. —
Hence! pack! there's gold, ye came for gold, ye slaves:
You have done work for me, there's payment: Hence!
You are an alchymist, make gold of that: —
Out, rascal dogs! [*exit, beating and driving them out.*

In the following speech, Shakspeare alludes to the grounds for Timon's half friendship for Alcibiades, as laid down in the anecdote related by Plutarch: —

Well, sir, I will; therefore I will, sir; Thus, —
If Alcibiades kill my countrymen,
Let Alcibiades know this of Timon,
That — Timon cares not. But if he sack fair Athens,
And take our goodly aged men by the beards,
Giving our holy virgins to the stain
Of contumelious, beastly, mad-brain'd war;
Then, let him know, — and tell him, Timon speaks it,
In pity of our aged, and our youth,

I cannot choose but tell him, that—I care not,
And let him tak't at worst; for their knives care not,
While you have throats to answer: for myself,
There's not a whittle in the unruly camp,
But I do prize it at my love, before
The reverend'st throat in Athens. So I leave you
To the protection of the prosperous gods,
As thieves to keepers.

Had Shakspeare been a classical scholar, we should have been told that he had borrowed this last expression from the Medea of Euripides, where the expression Θεῶν παῖδες μάκαρων is the style given to the men of Athens.

In the following passage he seems to have borrowed from himself, and to have recollected the soliloquy in Hamlet, written at least ten years before Timon of Athens. Here also he might have been suspected of having copied an image of Prometheus in Æschylus:—

Δυσχείμερόν γε πέλαγος ἀτηρᾶς δύης.

The whole speech is not unlike part of the Anapæsts, spoken by Io, in the same play:—

Τροχοδινεῖται δ' ὄμμαθ' ἑλίγδην,
Ἔξω δὲ δρόμου φέρομαι, λύσσης
Πνεύματι μάργῳ, γλώσσης ἀκρατής·
Θολεροὶ δὲ λόγοι, παίουσ' εἰκῆ
Στυγνῆς πρὸς κύμασιν ἄτης.

Commend me to them;
And tell them, that, to ease them of their griefs,
Their fears of hostile strokes, their aches, losses,
Their pangs of love, with other incident throes

That nature's fragile vessel doth sustain
In life's uncertain voyage, I will some kindness do them:
I'll teach them to prevent wild Alcibiades' wrath.

Mr. Kemble would here have had to maintain a second warfare with the gallery, on the subject of *aches* and *akes*. That the galleries should have combated his correct pronunciation, was naturally to be expected: but marvellous to relate, persons who from their education and rank in life would be offended at a hint of ignorance or want of critical judgment, have sided with the mob against metre and known usage. They seem to suppose that the English language, perhaps the most fluctuating of all, has been always stationary, and its immediate modes immemorial! Will they have the goodness to try if they can read the third line of the last quotation any way but one, and retain the verse upon the tongue?

Having incidentally mentioned the name of Mr. Kemble, I cannot help expressing my regret, that Timon was never added to the list of Shakspeare's characters, of which he was for so many years the best commentator and illustrator. One such living exposition is worth all the notes that were ever written. Various and opposite opinions have been entertained, respecting the comparative merits of Kemble and Garrick. Those who are not old enough to remember the latter, and the number who do remember him will soon be very small, cannot arbitrate between the combatants. We have heard much of Garrick's eye and brow; of his expressive lip, and fine tones. The testimony is as strong as to any historical fact, and we have as much reason to believe it, that he had a power

of expressing the passions incident to the character he represented, and consequently a dominion over the feelings of his audience, never exceeded by predecessor or contemporary, and probably not surpassed by any successor. But there is one ground, which Mr. Kemble occupied alone: that of the philosophical and moral actor. His scholarship, and a Roman cast of person, peculiarly fitted him for Coriolanus and Cato; and would have enabled him to re-embody and re-animate the Grecian misanthrope. Besides these, there was a cast of character which Garrick seemed to think beneath him; for the theatrical records show that it was then consigned to performers of the second class. But who has seen Mr. Kemble represent the melancholy and philosophical Jaques, or attended on the moral lessons of the disguised Duke in Measure for Measure, without rational pleasure and real improvement? In this respect, however, I know of no dramatic experiment so hazardous, and of no success so decisive and triumphant, as that of the modern play called Deaf and Dumb. In this, a highly gifted member of Mr. Kemble's family* not only made dumbness eloquent, but recommended a most important institution of charity, by showing its mode of relief without occasioning the disgust usually attendant on the exhibition of any natural defect; and at the same time proved the triumph of a fine and cultivated mind over the most hopeless of infirmities: while he himself made an old grey-headed clergyman preach such a sermon, as drew crowded congregations night after

* Mrs. C. Kemble, at that time Miss De Camp.

night, and rendered the benches of the theatre auxiliary to the pews of the church.

Those who remember Mr. Kemble with a pleasing regret, may imagine how he would have wound up the character in the delivery of the closing speech: —

> Come not to me again: but say to Athens,
> Timon hath made his everlasting mansion
> Upon the beached verge of the salt flood;
> Whom once a day with his embossed froth
> The turbulent surge shall cover; thither come,
> And let my grave-stone be your oracle. —
> Lips, let sour words go by, and language end:
> What is amiss, plague and infection mend!
> Graves only be men's works; and death, their gain!
> Sun, hide thy beams! Timon hath done his reign.

After this, Timon appears no more, and here the play had better end.

This play was altered by Shadwell, and restored to the stage in 1678. Travellers have mentioned that there were the ruins of a building near Athens, which was designated as Timon's Tower.

Dr. Johnson's criticism on this play seems cold, and parsimonious of praise. "The play of Timon is a domestick tragedy, and therefore strongly fastens on the attention of the reader." I cannot think that its domestic nature constitutes its charm. It is in subjects of deep pathos, that domestic tragedy seizes on the feelings of the spectator. I should rather attribute its interest to the peculiarities of mind it exhibits, and the studies of human nature it furnishes. "In the plan there is not much art, but the incidents are natural, and the characters various and exact." The moral it

enforces is justly stated by the critic, and cannot be mistaken by the spectator or the reader. "The catastrophe affords a very powerful warning against that ostentatious liberality, which scatters bounty, but confers no benefits, and buys flattery, but not friendship."

Callimachus continues Timon's misanthropy even after death, in the following epigram: —

Τίμων (οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἐσσὶ) τί τοι φάος, ἢ σκότος ἐχθρόν;
Τὸ σκότος· ὑμέων γὰρ πλείονες εἰν Ἀΐδῃ.

CHARACTER OF APEMANTUS.

LITTLE has descended to us from antiquity respecting this person. He is most known by the mention made of him in the passage from Plutarch at the head of the last article. He is there stated to have been the only man admitted to intimacy with Timon after the latter had contracted his misanthropical habits. Yet sympathy of feeling and manners did not prevent Timon from being at times *crusty*, as it is called, with his friend: witness the compliment which passed at the feast of sacrifices for the dead. Apemantus could not simply remark that the dinner was good, without being *taken up*, and told that his presence spoiled it. The inducement for mentioning a personage with whom we have such slender acquaintance, is to show the skill of Shakspeare in discriminating it from a character of so much general similarity as that of Timon. Plutarch tells us that they associated from sympathy of feeling and of manners: had that sympathy been entire, Shakspeare would not have introduced a polygraphic copy of his own picture. But one was the misanthrope of experience and bitter disappointment: the other was the misanthrope of Cynic philosophy. One was the hatred of feeling; the other of pride and affectation.

Warburton says, that this character of a Cynic is finely drawn by Lucian, in his Auction of the Philosophers, and that Shakspeare has copied it well. There appears to be a want of exactness in this remark. We have before seen that Shakspeare could only have copied Lucian at second or third hand, as that witty writer had not been translated in his time. "This character of a Cynic" would justify the reader in inferring, that Lucian had drawn Apemantus: he has indeed drawn the Cynic in glowing colours; but the sitter is Diogenes, not Apemantus. The observation, however, is not substantially objectionable. Shakspeare had probably met with the draft of a Cynic, borrowed from Lucian, either anonymous or under the name of Diogenes; and finding that Apemantus was the companion of Timon, justly concluded that "the knight of the shire might represent them all;" the disciple of the sect might inherit the mantle of his master. It might not improbably be supposed, that he found this outline in Mr. Strutt's manuscript play: but it is not so. The *personæ dramatis* have Philargurus, a covetous churlish old man; but no Apemantus, a churlish philosopher.

A single specimen of Apemantus is all that our limits will allow: —

Hey day, what a sweep of vanity comes this way!
They dance! they are mad women.
Like madness is the glory of this life,
As this pomp shows to a little oil, and root.
We make ourselves fools, to disport ourselves;
And spend our flatteries, to drink those men,
Upon whose age we void it up again,
With poisonous spite, and envy. Who lives, that's not
Depraved, or depraves? who dies, that bears

Not one spurn to their graves of their friend's gift?
I should fear, those, that dance before me now,
Would one day stamp upon me: It has been done;
Men shut their doors against a setting sun.

This anathema against dancing might have subjected our poet to the charge of classical plagiarism, had his means of reading been sufficiently extensive to support it. Cicero, in his Oration for Murena, seems to look at this exercise with puritanical abhorrence. "Nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit: neque in solitudine, neque in convivio moderato atque honesto."

CHARACTER OF ALCIBIADES.

ALCIBIADES furnishes an important and curious study of human nature. Splendour of birth and personal beauty seem to have been the two circumstances, which gave his character its form and pressure. He was nearly related to Pericles; but by what tie, is disputed among authors. Suidas says, he was the son of Clinias and Pericles's sister. Valerius Maximus calls Pericles his *uncle;* but Plutarch tells us he was the son of Dinomache, the daughter of Megacles. Whatever was the relationship, Alcibiades was brought up under the guardianship, and in the house of Pericles.

In Isocrates, there is an oration, De Bigis, professing to be delivered by the son of Alcibiades, containing a defence and panegyric of his father. He there enters into a long genealogical deduction: Καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ Κλεισθένης, ὁ μὲν πρὸς πατρὸς, ὁ δὲ πρὸς μητρὸς ὢν πρόπαππος τοῦ πατρὸς τούμοῦ, στρατηγήσαντες, τῆς φυγῆς κατήγαγον τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλον, καὶ κατέστησαν ἐκείνην τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἐξ ἧς οἱ πολῖται πρὸς μὲν ἀνδριάν οὕτως ἐπαιδεύθησαν, ὥστε τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐλθόντας τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μόνοι νικᾶν μαχομένοι. He then goes on to state that Alcibiades's father and his own grandfather fell in the battle of Cheronea. Ἐπιτροπεύθη δὲ ὑπὸ Περικλέους, ὃν πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιεν ὡς σωφρονέστατον, καὶ δικαιότατον, καὶ σοφώτατον γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν. It appears clearly in Herodotus, that Clinias

was the son of the Alcibiades meant in the first passage of Isocrates, and father of the Alcibiades whose fame was afterwards so celebrated in Greece. Τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Κλεινιὴς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδεω. Plutarch censures Pericles for negligence in his office of guardian; for he appointed Zopyrus, an old Thracian slave of obstinate temper, to be his schoolmaster.* All the ancients concur in admiration of his extraordinary comeliness. Plutarch says, οὐ γὰρ, ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἔλεγε, πάντων τῶν καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλόν ἐστιν, but that the figure of Alcibiades retained its attractive character, through the advantage of a naturally vigorous and healthy temperament.

On the subject of his lisping, Plutarch quotes a passage from the Vespæ of Aristophanes: — Τῇ δὲ φωνῇ καὶ τὴν τραυλότητα ἐμπρέψαι λέγουσι, καὶ τῷ λάλῳ πιθανότητα παρασχεῖν, χάριν ἐπιτελοῦσαν. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης αὐτοῦ τῆς τραυλότητος ἐν οἷς ἐπισκώπτει Θέωρον,

Εἶτ' Ἀλκιβίαδης εἶπε πρὸς μὲ τραυλίσας,
Ὁλᾶς Θέωλον; τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει.
Ὀρθῶς γε τοῦτ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐτραύλισε.

Καὶ Ἄρχιππος τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου σκώπτων,

Βαδίζει, φησὶ, διακεχλιδὼς, ἱματίον ἕλκων, ὅπως ἐμφερὴς τῷ πατρὶ μάλιστα δόξειεν εἶναι,

Κλαυσαυχενεύεταί τε καὶ τραυλίζεται.

Cicero begins a letter to Cælius with a similar ridicule of fashionable affectation, where he spells the name of Hirrus, Cælius's competitor for the ædileship, according to the lisping pronunciation.

* Alcibiades's early partiality for Homer is well known.

not this remind the reader of Lord Byron? Would he not have been likely to administer poetical justice, in contempt of legal, much after the same manner?

The next anecdote given by Plutarch is much to the credit of Alcibiades. It relates to ἄνθρωπον, ὥς φασιν, οὐ πολλὰ κεκτημένον, ἀποδόμενον δὲ πάντα, καὶ τὸ συναχθὲν εἰς ἑκατὸν στατῆρας τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ προσφέροντα, καὶ δεόμενον λαβεῖν. Alcibiades took him under his protection, and made him outbid the old farmers of the revenue.

The character of an arrogant and dissipated young nobleman was likely to fall under the lash of so severe and impartial a historian as Thucydides. In the 15th chapter of the 8th book, he ascribes his ill-will and intrigues against Nicias to the following motive: — Ἐνῆγε δὲ προθυμότατα τὴν στρατείαν Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου, βουλόμενος τῷ τε Νικίᾳ ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ὢν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα διάφορος τὰ πολιτικὰ, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῦ διαβόλως ἐμνήσθη, καὶ μάλιστα στρατηγῆσαί τε ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ ἐλπίζων Σικελίαν τε δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ Καρχηδόνα λήψεσθαι· καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἅμα εὐτυχήσας, χρήμασί τε καὶ δόξῃ ὠφελήσειν. Further on, Thucydides, who weighs men's probable motives in a nicely poised scale, gives Alcibiades, in a supposed speech to the Lacedemonians, an opportunity of assigning an honourable motive for abandoning the cause of his country, and enlisting under opposite banners: —Ἐπεὶ ὥς γε δυνατὰ, καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεσθαι οἶμαι γνώμης, πάνυ θαρσῶ· καὶ χείρων οὐδενὶ ἀξιῶ δοκεῖν ὑμῶν εἶναι, εἰ τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ μετὰ τῶν πολεμιωτάτων, φιλόπολις πρὸς δοκῶν εἶναι, νῦν ἐγκαλῶς ἐπέρχομαι· οὐδὲ ὑποπτεύεσθαί μου εἰς τὴν φυγαδικὴν προθυμίαν τὸν λόγον. He ascribes his conduct to the wickedness of his enemies.

The following anecdote proves beyond all question the strong attachment of this gay youth to

his philosophical friend. After the defeat of the Athenians at the battle of Delium, Socrates was retreating on foot: Alcibiades brought him safe out of the field, in spite of the enemy who pressed furiously forward, and made a very considerable slaughter.

A speech of Andocides against Alcibiades is preserved in the Oratores Græci of Aldus, and the Oratores Veteres of Stephens, in which both his public and private character are virulently attacked. *

Plato has two dialogues between Socrates and Alcibiades; one, De Natura Hominis, the other De Voto. Socrates, as usual, drives his pupil into a corner. The oratory of Alcibiades has been much commended by the ancients; but even with them, though the fact be highly probable, the report seems to be little more than that of common fame. The speeches of Thucydides are admirable as characteristic illustrations; but they are not parliamentary reports.

Alcibiades was, like other statesmen, a Newmarket man. He won the first, second, and third prizes in person; his chariots won twice in his absence. He is said to have put Eupolis to death for writing a satire against him; in which is supposed to have been the verse quoted by Aulus Gellius: — "Eupolidis quoque versus de id genus hominibus consignatissime factus est, λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν: quod Sallustius noster imitari volens, *loquax*, inquit, *magis, quam facundus.*"

* The excellent edition of the Oratores Attici by Bekker, from the Clarendon Press, 1823, supersedes the necessity of any other, except to the professed collector.

Eupolis, a native of Athens, is honourably mentioned by Quinctilian and by Horace, who both rank him with Aristophanes and Cratinus. His fragments are scattered up and down in many ancient authors, and have been collected by Grotius.

Alcibiades and Phæax are accused of having borrowed the consecrated plate, and having refused to return it, after profaning it by secular uses, till the eve of the sacred processions in which it was to be exhibited. The object of this retention is alleged to be, that strangers might consider it as a private loan. * Phæax is likewise mentioned by Thucydides, lib. v. cap. 4. :—Φαίαξ δὲ ὁ Ἐρασιστράτου, τρίτος αὐτὸς, Ἀθηναίων στεμπόνταν, ναυσὶ δύο ἐς Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν στρεσβευτὴς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐξέπλευσε.

Nicias and Alcibiades, though not always the most sincere friends, leagued together to turn the tables on Hyperbolus, who had levelled a sentence of ostracism against either one of them, or Phæax. This Hyperbolus was the constant butt of the comic writers, and especially of Plato. He is mentioned by Plutarch in the Lives of Alcibiades, Aristides, and Nicias.

The best apology that can be made for the treason of Alcibiades to his country, which no injuries can ever justify, is the hospitality, subsist-

* Ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἑστηλιτεύθη, καὶ αὐτὰ ὑπολαμβάνοντες οἱ μάλιστα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ ἀχθόμενοι, ἐμποδὼν ὄντι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μὴ τοῦ δήμου βεβαίως στρατεύεσθαι, καὶ νομίσαντες, εἰ αὐτὸν ἐξελάσειαν, στρατῶτοι ἂν εἶναι, ἐμεγάλυνον, καὶ ἐβόων ὡς ἐπὶ δήμου καταλύσει τὰ τε μυστικὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπὴ γένοιτο· καὶ οὐδὲν εἴη αὐτῶν ὅ, τι οὐ μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπράχθη· ἐπιλέγοντες τεκμήρια, τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐ δημοτικὴν παρανομίαν. — *Thucyd.* lib. vi. cap. 28.

ing anciently on so curious a footing, between his family and the Lacedemonians. In consideration of this tie, he had taken particular care of the prisoners captured at Pylos. Yet in this act he was thwarted, and his jealousy roused by the ascendency of Nicias, who had procured peace and the consequent liberty of the captives; so that he eclipsed Alcibiades in popularity both at home and abroad. The jealous feeling towards Nicias has been touched upon before: it found vent when the Lacedemonians had formed an alliance with the Bœotians, and had delivered Panactus to the Athenians with dismantled fortifications. Alcibiades seized on this opportunity to inflame the minds of his countrymen, and to involve Nicias in a portion of the current odium. The intrigue by which he supplanted Nicias in the confidence of the Lacedemonians, is thus developed by Thucydides: —

Καὶ λέγοντες ἐν τῇ βουλῇ περί τε τούτων, καὶ ὡς αὐτοκράτορες ἦκουσι περὶ πάντων ξυμβῆναι τῶν διαφόρων, τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐφόβουν, μὴ καὶ, ἢν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ταῦτα λέγωσιν, ἐπαγάγωνται τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ ἀπωσθῇ ἡ Ἀργείων ξυμμαχία· μηχανᾶται δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιόνδε τι ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης· τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πείθει, πίστιν αὐτοῖς δοὺς, ἢν μὴ ὁμολογήσασιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ αὖθις κράτορες ἥκειν, Πύλον τε αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν. πείσειν γὰρ αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίους ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἀνθιλέγειν, καὶ τἄλλα ξυναλλάξειν. βουλόμενος δὲ αὐτοὺς Νικίου τε ἀπαλλᾶξαι, ταῦτα ἔπραξε, καὶ ὅπως ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διαβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἐν νῷ ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ λέγουσιν οὐδέποτε ταὐτὰ, τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ Ἠλείους καὶ Μαντινέας ξυμμάχους ποιήσῃ. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς τὸν δῆμον παρελθόντες, καὶ ἐπερωτώμενοι οὐκ ἔφασαν (ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ) αὐτοκράτορες ἥκειν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι ἠνείχοντο· ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον καταβοῶντος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐσήκουόν τε καὶ ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν εὐθὺς παραγαγόντες τοὺς Ἀργείους, καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν, ξυμ-

μάχους ποιεῖσθαι. σεισμοῦ δὲ γενομένου πρίν τι ἐπικυρωθῆναι, ἡ ἐκκλησία αὖτη ἀνεβλήθη.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ Νικίας, καίπερ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτῶν ἠπαληκότων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξηπαληκὼς περὶ τοῦ μὴ αὐτοκράτορες ὁμολογῆσαι ἥκειν, ὅμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφη χρῆναι φίλους μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἐπισχόντας τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους, πέμψαι ἔτι ὡς αὐτούς, καὶ εἰδέναι ὅ, τί διανοοῦνται· λέγων, ἐν μὲν τῷ σφετέρῳ καλῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐκείνων ἀπορεπεῖ, τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβάλλεσθαι. σφίσι μὲν γὰρ εὖ ἐχόντων τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς ἐπιπλεῖστον ἄριστον εἶναι διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐπραγίαν· ἐκείνοις δὲ δυσχοῦσιν, ὀτιλάχιστα εὔρημα εἶναι διακινδυνεύσαι. ἔπεισέ τε πέμψαι πρέσβεις, ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, κελεύσοντας Λακεδαιμονίους, εἴτι δίκαιον διανοοῦνται, Πάνακτόν τε ὀρθὸν ἀποδιδόναι, καὶ Ἀμφίπολιν· καὶ τὴν Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχίαν ἀνεῖναι, ἢν μὴ ἐς τὰς σπονδὰς ἐσίωσι, καθάπερ εἴρηται, ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μηδενὶ ξυμβαίνειν. εἰπεῖν τε ἐκέλευον, ὅτι καὶ σφεῖς, εἰ ἐβούλοντο ἀδικεῖν, ἤδη ἂν Ἀργείους ξυμμάχους ἐποιοῦντο· ὡς παρεῖναί γ' αὐτοὺς αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα. εἴτε τι ἄλλο ἐνεκάλουν, πάντα ἐπισείλαντες, ἀπέπεμψαν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Νικίαν πρέσβεις. καὶ ἀφικομένων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπαγγειλάντων τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ τέλος εἰπόντων, ὅτι εἰ μὴ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἀνήσουσι Βοιωτοῖς μὴ ἐσιοῦσιν ἐς τὰς σπονδάς, ποιήσοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀργείους, καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν, ξυμμάχους· τὴν μὲν ξυμμαχίαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Βοιωτοῖς οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀνήσειν, ἐπικραλούντων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ξενάρη τὸν Ἔφορον ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἦσαν. τοὺς δὲ ὅρκους, δεομένου Νικίου, ἀνενεώσαντο. ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ μὴ πάντα ἀτελῆ ἔχων ἀπέλθῃ, καὶ διαβληθῇ (ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο), αἴτιος δοκῶν εἶναι τῶν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδῶν. ἀναχωρήσαντός τε αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἤκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος πεπραγμένον, εὐθὺς δι' ὀργῆς εἶχον· καὶ νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἔτυχον γὰρ παρόντες οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, παραγαγόντος Ἀλκιβιάδου, ἐποιήσαντο σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τήνδε.

The remark of Plutarch on this precious roguery is well worth attention: — Καὶ τὸν μὲν τρόπον οὐδεὶς τῆς πράξεως ἐπῄνει, μέγα δ' ἦν τὸ πεπραγμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,

διαζῆσαι καὶ κραδᾶναι Πελοπόννησον ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασαν, κἀὶ τοσαύτας ἀσπίδας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ περὶ Μαντίνειαν ἀνίτάξαι Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ πορρωτάτω τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀγῶνα καὶασκευάσαι καὶ κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς, ἐν ᾧ μέγα μὲν οὐδὲν ἡ νίκη προσέθηκε κραΐήσασιν, εἰ δ' ἐσφάλησαν, ἔργον ἦν τὴν Λακεδαίμονα περιγενέσθαι. The consequence was the battle of Mantinea, in which the Athenians were beaten without adding much to the confidence or to the resources of the Lacedemonians.

The web of Alcibiades's policy was curiously wrought: — Ἀλκιβιάδης γὰρ, ὅτε ἀπῄει ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἤδη μειλάπαμπλος, ἐπιςάμενος ὅτι φεύξοιτο, μηνύει τοῖς τῶν Συρακουσίων φίλοις τοῖς ἐν Μεσήνῃ, ξυνειδὼς τὸ μέλλον. — *Thucyd.* lib. vi. cap. 66. Without any genuine and rational patriotism, he was continually stirring up the young men of Athens to aim at the empire, not only of the sea but of the land; and reminding them of the oath they had taken in the temple of Aglauros. Attica was a barren tract; and they had sworn to consider any country as their own, which abounded in corn, wine, and oil.

Among the military effeminacies of Alcibiades, was that of carrying a shield of gold in the wars, with the ensign, a Cupid bearing a thunderbolt, instead of the owl, or the olive, or Minerva herself, the usual and recognised devices of the Athenians.

Demosthenes, in his oration against Midias, speaks with mingled praise and censure of Alcibiades: — Λέγεται τοίνυν ποῖὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκείνην εὐδαιμονίαν, Ἀλκιβιάδης γενέσθαι, ᾧ σκέψασθε, τίνων εὐεργεσιῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν, καὶ ποίων τινῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, πῶς ἐχρήσαντ' ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι, ἐπειδὴ βέλτιςὸς καὶ ὑβριςὴς ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι· καὶ οὐκ, ἐπεικάσαι δήπου Μειδίαν Ἀλκιβιάδῃ βουλόμενος, τούτου μέμνημαι τοῦ λόγου.

The slaughter of all the adult males among the Melians, a crime unlike those generally committed by Alcibiades, is stated by Plutarch to have taken place under a decree promoted by him. But Thucydides, who gives an account of the affair with the Melians, ending in this nefarious transaction, in the last three sections of his fifth book, neither mentions such decree, nor names Alcibiades. It has been suggested that he wished to have the carnage thought the effect of a sudden transport of the soldiery, and not a deliberate act of cruelty on the part of the Athenians. If so, what becomes of the severely impartial historian? He certainly gets over the massacre as fast as he can, in a single sentence; but had there been such a decree, and Alcibiades its promoter, it would have been unlike his usual proceeding to have suppressed the fact. Melos was one of the Cyclades, and a Lacedemonian colony. That Alcibiades was the officer who blockaded it, is true. His force amounted to thirty-six ships, and three thousand men. He could not take the island till the second year, after he had received a reinforcement under Philocrates. It but too often happened in ancient times, that troops were exasperated by being detained long at a siege, and committed ravages which their officers were unable to prevent. Effeminacy, and the violation of public decency, are offences of more probable imputation.

On this subject Athenæus relates an anecdote, immediately preceding that of Anytus and Thrasyllus, in a chapter before quoted: — Ἀφικόμενος δ' Ἀθηνήσιν ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας, δύο πίναξ ἀνέθηκεν, Ἀγλαοφῶντος γραφήν· ὧν ὁ μὲν εἶχεν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ Πυθιάδα στεφανούσας αὐτὸν· ἐν δὲ θαλάμῳ Νεμέα ἦν καθημένη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς Ἀλ-

κιβιάδης, καλλίων φαινόμενος τῶν γυναικείων προσώπων. This Aglaophon was the father of Polygnotus. He is mentioned in good company by Cicero, De Orat. iii. 7. : — "Una est ars ratioque picturæ, dissimillimique tamen inter se Zeuxis, Aglaophon, Apelles: neque eorum quisquam est, cui quidquam in arte sua deesse videatur."

Ambition showed itself under contrasted forms in Alcibiades and his guardian Pericles: in the former, headstrong, inconsiderate, and personal; in the latter, prudent, statesman-like, and patriotic. Pericles knew the lust of conquest to be the national error of the Athenians; and his authority was always exerted to restrain its extravagance. He died in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. During his lifetime, they had felt a longing desire to mix themselves up with the divisions of the Sicilians; but when the check of his disapprobation was removed, they aimed at the conquest of the island, and banished two of their generals and fined a third, for not having effected it. Alcibiades lent himself to these lofty notions, and with an imprudence the reverse of his guardian's policy, suggested the entire occupation of the island, instead of that gradual conquest which only they had hitherto meditated. * But Socrates was warned by that genius, who was fabled to have waited on him, and, fable apart, is true wisdom, that this career would not be ultimately successful. Meton

* Mr. Mitford, I find on consulting him since I wrote this passage, does not consider the project of Alcibiades as so imprudent; but, on the contrary, speaks of it as "extensively founded." I do not dispute so high an authority, but as there is historical warrant in the expressed opinions of Socrates and Meton, I have allowed the passage to stand.

the astronomer read no favourable destiny in the stars, and wished to exempt his son from the hazards of the campaign. He affected madness, set his house on fire, and conveniently recovering his senses, petitioned the people to let his son stay at home to comfort him. Nicias also opposed a wise and cautious policy to the arrogance and impetuous rashness of his opponent. But violence carried its point against counsel and experience. The arguments on both sides are so admirably constructed by Thucydides, in speeches which he probably framed from traditionary heads or remnants of their respective harangues, that I should insert them but for their extreme length: I will therefore give them as condensed by that excellent historian of Greece, Mr. Mitford: —

"To urge to Athenian tempers," Nicias said, "that in reason they should rather take measures to secure what they alreddy possess, than ingage in wild projects for farther acquisition, I fear will be vain; yet I think it my duty to endevor to show you how rash and unadvised your present purpose is. Within Greece you seem to imagine yourselves at peace: yet some of the most powerful states, of the confederacy with which you have been at war, have not yet acceded to the treaty, and some of the articles are still controverted by all. In short, it is not a peace, but meerly a dubious suspension of hostilities, prolonged by ten-day truces, which will hold only till some misfortune befal us, or till Lacedæmon give the word for war. At the same time your antient subjects, the Chalcidians of Thrace, have been years in a rebellion which they are still maintaining; and some others, whom you esteem dependent states, pay you but a precarious

obedience. Is it not then extreme impolicy to incur needlessly new and great dangers, with the view to increase a dominion already so insecure?

"As to the dominion which Syracuse may acquire in Sicily, which some desire to represent as highly alarming, far from an object of apprehension, it would rather give us security. For while Sicily is divided, each state will court the favor of the Lacedæmonians, who profess themselves the protectors of independency; but when once the Syracusans are masters of all, they will be less forward in connection with Lacedæmon, and more cautious of opposing the Athenians; whose cause is similar to theirs, and whose interest congenial.

"For myself," continued Nicias, "at my years, and after the long course of services in which my fellowcitizens have been witnesses of my conduct, I may venture to say that no man is less anxious for his personal safety. I have large property, through which my welfare is intimately connected with that of the commonwealth. But we owe both life and fortune to our country; and I hold that man to be a good citizen who is duly careful of both. If then there is among you a young man, born to great wealth and splendid situation, whose passion for distinction has nevertheless led him far to exceed, in magnificence, both what suited his means and what became his situation; if he is now appointed to a command above his years, but with which, at his years especially, a man is likely to be delighted; above all, if repairs are wanting to a wasted fortune, which may make such a command desirable to him, tho ruinous to his country, it behooves you to beware how you accede to the advice of such a counsellor. I dread indeed the

warm passions of that crowd of youths, the followers and supporters of the person of whom I speak: and notwithstanding the decree of the last assembly, all men of sober judgement ought yet to interfere, and prevent rash undertakings, of a magnitude that may involve, with their failure, the downfall of the commonwealth. If therefore, honored as I am, by the voice of my country, with appointment to the chief command of the intended expedition, I may presume to advise, it shall be, that the expedition be not undertaken; that the Sicilians be left still divided by their seas from Athens; that the Egestans, as without communication with Athens they ingaged in war with the Selinuntines, so, without our interference they accommodate their differences; and that, in future, the Athenians ingage in no alliances with states which, in their own distress, will claim assistance, but in the distress of Athens could afford none."

Alcibiades, thus particularly called upon, mounted the bema to reply. He began with insisting upon his just pretension to the high command to which he was raised, and with glorying in the extravagances of which he was accused. "My ancestors before me," he said, "have been honored for that very conduct which is now imputed to me as criminal. I own, and it is my boast, that I have exceeded them all in magnificence, and I claim merit with my country for it. The supposition had gained, throughout Greece, that Athens was ruined by the war. I have shown that an individual of Athens could yet outdo what any prince or state had ever done. I sent seven chariots to the Olympian festival, and gained the first, the second, and the fourth prizes: and the figure I

maintained throughout, at that meeting of the whole Greek nation, did not disparage the splendor of my victory. Is this a crime? On the contrary, it is held honorable by the customs of Greece, and reflects honor and renown, even on the country of those who exhibit such magnificence. With regard then to my extravagance, as it has been called, at home, whether in public entertainments or in whatever else, perhaps I may have drawn on me the envy of some of our own citizens: but strangers are more just; and in my liberality and hospitality they admire the greatness of the commonwealth.

"If then even in these things, comparatively meer private concerns, I have deserved well of my country, let it be inquired what my public conduct has been. Glory, I will own, I ardently desire; but how have I sought to acquire it, and what has been my success? Have I promoted rash enterprize? Have I been forward, as it is said youth is apt to be, to ingage the commonwealth, wildly and without foresight, in hazardous war? or was it I who, by negotiation, without either danger or expence to yourselves, brought all Peloponnesus to fight your battles for you against Lacedæmon, and reduced that long-dreaded rival state to risk its existence at Mantineia, in arms against its own antient allies? If such have been my services, on first entering upon public business, you need not, I hope, fear but my greater experience will now be advantageous to you.

"With regard then to Nicias, who has long and honorably served you in the high situation of general of the commonwealth, tho he has been expressing himself acrimoniously against me, I

reddily acknowledge his merit, and have no objection to serve with him: on the contrary, I think it would become your wisdom to employ us together. Nicias has the reputation of cautious prudence, and singular good fortune; I am said to be more than prudently enterprizing. For want of enterprize his wisdom, and the good fortune with which the gods have been accustomed to bless it, will be unavailing to the commonwealth: checked by his prudence, my disposition to enterprize cannot be dangerous.

"To come then to the question more immediately before the assembly, the opportunity now offered to the commonwealth, for acquisition in Sicily, ought not to be neglected. The power of the Sicilians, which some would teach you to fear, has been much exaggerated. They are a mixed people, little attached to one another, little attached to a country which they consider as scarcely theirs, and little disposed to risk either person or fortune for it; but always reddy for any change, whether of political connection, or of local establishment, that may offer any advantage, or relieve from any distress. Nor is their military force such as some have pretended; several Grecian states and all the barbarians of the iland, will be immediately in your interest. Distracted then by faction, as it is well known the rest are, negotiation, well managed, may soon bring more to your party.

"But it is endevored to alarm you with apprehensions of invasion from Peloponnesus. With regard to this, late experience has demonstrated what may suffice us to know. The Peloponnesians are always able to overrun the open country of Attica even when none of our force is absent on

forein service; and, should the expedition now proposed take place, they can do no more. Ought we then to abandon allies, whom treaties ratified by oath bind us to protect? Is it a just reason for so failing in our ingagements, that those allies are unable to afford us mutual protection? It was surely not to obtain Egestan forces for the defence of Attica that the treaty was made; but to prevent our enemies in Sicily from injuring Attica, by finding them employment within their own iland. It has been by readiness to ASSIST ALL, whether Greeks or barbarians, that OUR empire, and ALL empire, has been acquired. Nor, let me add, is it now in our choice how far we will stretch our command; for, possessing empire, we must maintain it, and rather extend than permit any diminution of it; or we shall, more even than weaker states, risk our own subjection to a forein dominion. I will then detain you no longer than to observe, that the command which we possess of the sea, and the party of which we are assured in Sicily, will sufficiently inable us to keep what we may acquire, and sufficiently insure means of retreat if we should fail of our purpose; so that, with much to hope, we have, from any event of the proposed expedition, little to fear. I am therefore firmly of opinion that your decree for it ought not to be rescinded."

When the question had been thus fully argued, Demostratus moved, that the preparations for the war and the entire control of it should be vested in the generals. The Greeks followed up all public resolutions by sacrifices and festivals. It happened unluckily, that just before the sailing of the expedition, the feast of Adonis took place. Looking

at the identity of ceremonies at their festivals, there is reason to believe that Osiris and Bacchus were only other names for the same deity. But be that as it may, the lugubrious observances of this rite were very discouraging to the superstitious feelings of the Athenians. It was the custom of the citizens to wear mourning on this occasion: coffins were set out at the door of every house. The statues of Venus and Adonis were carried in procession, accompanied by certain vessels called the gardens of Adonis, because they were filled with earth after the manner of garden-pots, and corn, herbs, and lettuce raised in them, which were at the conclusion of the ceremony to be thrown into the sea or some river.

It is remarkable that such a festival was not only held in Greece, where indeed few ceremonies originated, but in Egypt, and, as we learn from holy writ, in Judea during the period of its idolatry. It had all the character of a funeral. Greek mythology informs us that Adonis was slain by a wild boar; on which event, possibly historical, they not only grafted a love-story, but a miracle, in the annual death and revival of Adonis. But the story was Syrian; for *Thammuz* had been deified by that people, after being killed in hunting on *Lebanon*, whence the river *Adonis* descends. Hence the Greeks got the apparently strange ceremony of the garden-pots as well as the yearly decease. At certain seasons the river brought down a red soil from the mountain, which discoloured its otherwise transparent water. This was considered to be the blood of Thammuz, and a natural signal that his death had then taken place. The corn and other articles were cast in as a viaticum for the passing

soul; and the only alteration the Greeks made seems to have been that of substituting the geographical for the historical or fabulous name. Milton has described both the Syrian and Jewish rite, in Paradise Lost, book i.:—

> Thammuz came next behind,
> Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
> The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
> In amorous ditties all a summer's day;
> While smooth Adonis from his native rock
> Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
> Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale
> Infected Sion's daughters with like heat;
> Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
> Ezekiel saw, when, by the vision led,
> His eye survey'd the dark idolatries
> Of alienated Judah.

The loud lamentations of the women are particularly marked by Ezekiel, as among the greater abominations. "Then said he unto me, son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery? for they say, the LORD seeth us not; the LORD hath forsaken the earth." By the expression, *every man in the chambers of his imagery*, is meant the imagery he kept in his own house, like the sculptured representations in the temple. "Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the LORD's house which was toward the north; and, behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz." The gate toward the north is evidently set down as an aggravation, because it was nearer to the temple than the other gates. Now Tammuz, or Thammuz, is clearly the same

as Adonis, which is the name of the river near which he lost his life. In short, there is reason to think that this Syrian idol was the *Dionysius* of the Indians, the *Osiris* of the Egyptians, the *Liber* of the Romans, the Διόνυσος and Βρόμιος of the Greeks, as well as their Adonis: and that *Bacchus*, or Bar-Chus, means the *son of Chus*, who was in fact Nimrod.

The female lamentation, reprobated by the prophet, took so great a lead on account of the sorrow felt by Venus, under whatever name she might pass. The Greeks, besides changing the name, made a dramatic addition to the plot. We know that Adonis had a powerful rival in Mars; who, it seems, in a fit of jealousy, transformed himself into a wild boar, and took his revenge in that shape. The river was discoloured with the blood; but a few drops were diverted to a purpose for which florists may be thankful to this day: those "gouts of blood" performed the elegant and delicate office of tinging the anemone! Nor have we done with the beneficial effects of this dye, as far as regards flowers. Venus, among other outward marks of desolation, went slip-shod: roses in those days were all white; but they had thorns, as now; thorns scratch; and feet bleed, unless protected by *neat's leather*: so that to the skin-deep wounds of the goddess we owe that endless variety and delicate gradation of ruddy hues, by which our modern gardens are embellished.

Ovid alludes to the alternate death and life: —

Luctûs monumenta manebunt
Semper, Adoni, mei: repetitaque mortis imago
Annua plangoris peraget simulamina nostri. *Met.* lib. x.

Orpheus has a hymn on the subject, of which this is the conclusion:—

Κοῦρη, καὶ πόρε πᾶσι καλὸν θάλος αἰὲν Ἄδωνι,
Σβεννυμένος λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἐν κυκλάσιν ὥραις·
Αὐξιθαλὴς δίκερως, πολυήρατε, δακρυότιμε,
Ἀγλαόμορφε, κυνηγεσίαις χαίρων, βαθυχαίτα·
Ἱμερόνους, Κύπριδος γλυκερὸν θάλος, ἔρνος ἐρῶλος·
Περσεφόνης ἐρασιπλοκάμου λέκτροισι λοχευθείς·
Ὃν ποτὲ μὲν ναίεις ὑπὸ Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα,
Ἠδὲ πάλιν πρὸς Ὄλυμπον ἄγεις δέμας ἀριόκαρπον·
Ἐλθὲ, μάκαρ, μύσῃσι φέρων καρποὺς ἀπὸ γαίης.

Nothing can be more elegantly poetical than the touches of Theocritus on this subject. The common sense of the fable, and fables all have common sense, however disguised, is this. Adonis, after his death, was to pass six months with Venus, and six with Proserpine: to die and revive every year. Proserpine's turn is while the sown seed lies in the ground, and that of Venus from the first appearance of the blade till its fall under the sickle. This corroborates his identity with Bacchus; for the rise and descent of the sap in the vine may be expressed by the same type. This early benefactor therefore probably subjected various products of the earth to cultivation, and hence the vessels of corn and other vegetables in the sacrifice.

But to return to the solemn rite at the period in question. The mournful part of it cast a gloom over the minds of a people so susceptible of omens; and the feeling was aggravated by another circumstance. The Athenians had terminal figures at their doors, surmounted with the head of Mercury. These statues were all mutilated in one night.

The Corinthians, of whom the Syracusans were a colony, sent out under Archias, one of the Heraclidæ, were reported to have done this, in the hope that such an apparent prodigy might discourage the Athenians from the prosecution of the war. While men's minds were thus agitated, Alcibiades was alternately popular and unpopular. Those orators who were apparently his friends, but really his enemies, suggested the propriety of giving him full scope, but holding him to a severe responsibility. On their arrival at the theatre of military operations, Nicias produced a scheme for the conduct of the war, in which he was opposed by Alcibiades. Lamachus had a project originally different from both. Not finding himself competent to carry this into effect, he made common cause with Alcibiades, who sailed to Sicily, and seized Catana by surprise. He also got possession of Agrigentum by a similar stratagem. His subtilty in the intrigue of military tactics enabled him to insinuate himself into one of the forts of Syracuse. He was recalled on an impeachment, at the instance apparently of his bitterest enemy, Androcles, with whom Andocides associates Pythonicus. One of Alcibiades's slaves, Andromachus, Agariste the wife of Alcmæonides, and Lydus, a slave of Phereclus, took the lead in the several informations. Teucer of Megara, though pleading guilty himself, did not accuse Alcibiades. His confession of facts, and appeal against his accomplices, not only procured his pardon from the people, but a thousand drachmas as a reward. The mutilation of the statues was a main article of charge; for the people had recovered from the absurdity of considering it as preternatural, and attributed it to the

malicious frolic of some domestic enemy. Diocleides produced a slave who deposed that he had seen more than three hundred men at work upon the Mercuries. He named forty, among whom were Andocides with his father and several of his family: but Andocides convicted him of falsehood, and the accuser was sentenced to death. Andocides himself accused four citizens, who eluded their sentence of banishment by previous flight.

Alcibiades was sufficiently open to prosecution on charges of political ambition; but they chose to attack him on ecclesiastical grounds. Eumolpus, a Thracian who settled at Eleusis, had organised the mysteries of Ceres. His descendants succeeded to the priestly office under the patronymic title of Eumolpidæ, and when the line was extinct, the designation was conferred on the elective college. Alcibiades was accused of violating the rules of the institution, by having worn a robe like the official dress of the high-priest, and assuming his heraldic appellation; by appointing a torch-bearer, and others of his companions as mystæ. This it was which threw him into the arms of Sparta, and occasioned the speech in Thucydides quoted in the early part of this article. He is said to have possessed the property of the chameleon, and though contrary to his previous habits, to have assumed the simplicity and austerity of Spartan manners. But this was merely colourable: for Plutarch says, Τοῖς δ' ἀληθινοῖς ἄν τις ἐπεφώνησεν αὐτοῦ πάλαι ἥδεται καὶ παράγμασιν, Ἔστιν ἡ πάλαι γυνή.* Τιμαίαν γὰρ τὴν

* Spoken by Electra of Helen, in the Orestes of Euripides, in reference to personal solicitude and the vanity of youth, continued into old age.

Ἄγιδος γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως, στρατευομένου καὶ ἀποδημοῦντος, οὕτω διέφθειρεν ὥστε καὶ κύειν ἐξ Ἀλκιβιάδου, καὶ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι· καὶ τεκούσης παιδάριον ἄρρεν, ἔξω μὲν Λεωνίδην καλεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἐνδὸς αὐτοῦ ψιθυριζόμενον ὄνομα πρὸς τὰς φίλας καὶ τοὺς ὑπαδοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς, Ἀλκιβιάδην εἶναι. τοσοῦτος ἔρως καθεῖχε τὴν ἄνθρωπον.

After the miscarriage of the Athenians in Sicily, the Lesbians, under the patronage of the Bœotians, and the people of Cyzicum, under that of Pharnabazus, offered to quit the interests of Athens and join those of Sparta. But the Chians put themselves under the protection of Alcibiades; and by his persuasion, succours were sent to them in preference to all the others. But it was not possible that he could long wear the mask, or the plain-dealing Spartans be long duped by it. He foresaw his danger, and sought the protection of Tisaphernes. The princely style in which the viceroys of Asia Minor lived suited him better. Xenophon describes the palace of Pharnabazus at Dascylus in Ionia. The gardens of Tisaphernes were not less distinguished by the elegance of their taste; and so highly pleased was the satrap with his Grecian ally, that he distinguished the most magnificent of his pavilions, watered by refreshing streams, and encompassed by verdant meadows, by the name of Alcibiades, which it long continued to bear. But in this new connection he was still restless; and wished to re-establish himself at Athens, if he could but secure himself against the resentment of the people. He knew that the principal Athenians on military duty at Samos were afraid of Tisaphernes and the Phœnician fleet: he therefore sent a private messenger to them, to hold out the hopes of his procuring the friendship of Tisaphernes for them by intrigue, and to suggest to the nobility

the measure of taking the government into their own hands, for the preservation of themselves and their country, and the repression of democratic insolence. Phrynichus was the only officer who did not accede to the proposal; and his refusal led to a long series of projects against each other, and cajolement of all the contending powers, which ended by Phrynichus being stabbed in full assembly by one of Hermon's soldiers on guard. The Athenians sat in judgment on Phrynichus after death, found him guilty of treason, and decreed crowns to Hermon and his party for having killed a traitor.

A change in the constitution was now determined on. The first proposition was, that none but the dregs of the people should be excluded from a voice in the government. A corporation of five thousand wealthy citizens was to be chartered, and they were to represent and act for the people. But when Pisander and his fellow-commissioners, who had been sent by the prevailing interest at Samos, found their strength equal to the task, they dissolved the old government. Five prytanes were elected, with power to choose a hundred: each of the hundred were empowered to choose three, and the four hundred were to form a senate, with uncontrolled power, and the five thousand were retained on the merely colourable pretext of giving advice to the efficient body when they might condescend to ask it. But when they had gained this object, they paid little attention to the remonstrances of Alcibiades, to press the war vigorously; for they dreaded the surly dislike of the citizens to the recent changes, and thought that the partiality of the Lacedemonians to oligarchy would induce them to relax their accustomed

vigour. The state of affairs at home induced the party at Samos, who were discontented at the result, to propose returning home: but Alcibiades prevented so ruinous a measure, by arguments addressed to the army in general, and prophetic denunciations of danger, and by personal entreaties to some, and the application of force to others. In this he was much assisted by Thrasybulus, who had a strong pair of lungs, and stretched them to the utmost in his harangues.

Alcibiades also promised, that the Phœnician fleet which the Lacedemonians expected, should either join the Athenians or remain neuter. In furtherance of this he went to Tisaphernes, and had influence enough with him to prevent his forwarding the ships, which had already advanced as far as Aspendus, a maritime city of Pamphylia, between Rhodes and Cyprus. The Lacedemonians therefore were disappointed. The motive to which Thucydides ascribes this duplicity on the part of Tisaphernes, is a desire so to balance the conflicting powers of the Greeks, as to weaken all the belligerents.

The disolution of the Four Hundred, and the re-establishment of democracy, were favourable to the return of Alcibiades. By way of distinguishing that projected event, he brought eighteen ships to the succour of the Athenians, at a crisis when their fleet and that of Sparta had been engaged from morning till night off Abydos, with nearly equal advantage on both sides. After this victory he went to visit Tisaphernes, who put him under arrest: but after thirty days, he procured a horse and made his escape to Clazomenæ; and by way of revenge, pretended that Tisaphernes had pri-

vately set him at liberty. On joining the Athenians, he bore down upon the Peloponnesian fleet, which was riding at anchor before the port of Cyzicum. With twenty of his best ships, he broke through the enemy, pursued those who abandoned their vessels, and made a great slaughter. The Athenians took all the enemy's ships, and made themselves masters of Cyzicum. The Lacedemonian general was found among the slain. The consequences of this victory are strongly stated by Plutarch:—*Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅπλων κρατήσαντες, τὰς τε ναῦς ἁπάσας ἔλαβον, χειρωσάμενοι δὲ καὶ Κύζικον, ἐκλελοιπότος τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων διαφθαρέντων, οὐ μόνον τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον εἶχον βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάσσης ἐξήλασαν καὶ κράτος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.*

The soldiers of Alcibiades became exceedingly insolent. Thrasyllus having miscarried in an attempt upon Ephesus, the Ephesians erected a trophy of brass, to perpetuate the Athenian infamy. Alcibiades's men bitterly reproached those of Thrasyllus, on account of this new and mortifying circumstance; for trophies had been made of wood till that time, that memorials of national hostility might not be too durable. Indeed both the Greeks and Romans seem to have disapproved of stone or iron, as materials for those monuments of triumph. Cicero has a curious passage on the subject:—Ea est hujusmodi: Cum Thebani Lacedæmonios bello superavissent, et fere mos esset Grajis, cum inter se bellum gessissent, ut ii, qui vicissent, tropæum aliquod in finibus statuerent, victoriæ modo in præsentia declarandæ causa, non ut in perpetuum belli memoria maneret; æneum statuerunt tropæum."—*De Invent.*, lib. ii. The case is brought before the Amphictyons, and

stated on both sides with logical and juridical precision.

Alcibiades, after performing many other exploits, sailed into the Hellespont, and took Selymbria, a city of Thrace, on the coast of the Propontis. In the action, with characteristic rashness, he exposed himself to unnecessary danger. After the treaty with Pharnabazus, he went against Byzantium. Cydon, Ariston, and Anaxicrates secretly engaged to deliver up the place, on condition that it should be protected from plunder; and Alcibiades honourably fulfilled his engagement.

Duris the Samian, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, boasted of his descent from Alcibiades. He is commended for his accuracy by Cicero, Epist. ad Att. lib. vi. He is arguing, that no historian can stand his ground, if occasional error is to be too severely imputed. This Duris is placed in very respectable company: — "Num idcirco Duris Samius, homo in historia diligens, quod cum multis erravit, irridetur? Quis Zaleucum leges Locris scripsisse non dixit? Num igitur jacet Theophrastus, si id a Timæo, tuo familiari, reprehensum est? Sed nescire, proavum suum censorem non fuisse, turpe est; præsertim cum post eum consulem, nemo Cornelius, illo vivo, censor fuerit." This Duris describes in glowing colours the triumphal return of Alcibiades; the oars keeping time to the flute of Chrysogonus, who had gained a victory in the Pythian games: while Callipedes, the tragedian, gave direction to the rowers, in all the splendour of his theatrical paraphernalia. The admiral's vessel he described as entering the port with a purple sail, in token of Bacchanalian revelry. All this is in perfect keep-

ing with the character of Alcibiades: but neither Xenophon, Justin, nor Athenæus, mention any such particulars; and as Plutarch tells us, that Theopompus and Ephorus are equally silent, the probability is that Duris had exaggerated. He might have thought it an honour to be descended from the Rochester or Buckingham of ancient days, and have given these gay anecdotes with pious unction.

With respect to the decree for his recall, Plutarch says: — Τὸ μὲν οὖν ψήφισμα τῆς καθόδου πρότερον ἐκεκύρωτο Κριτίου τοῦ Καλλαίσχρου γράψαντος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις ἐποίησεν, ὑπομιμνήσκων τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην τῆς χάριτος ἐν τούτοις,

Γνώμη δ' ἣ σε καλήγαγ', ἐγὼ ταύτην ἐν ἅπασιν
Εἶπον, καὶ γράψας τοὔργον ἔδρασα τόδε.
Σφραγὶς δ' ἡμετέροις γλώττης ἐπὶ τοῖσδεσι κεῖται.

Critias was uncle to Plato's mother, and at this time the friend of Alcibiades. But the friendship of the ambitious is of short duration. When one of the Thirty Tyrants, the remembrance of former ties did not prevent him from conceiving the bitterest enmity against Alcibiades, and impressing it on the mind of Lysander, that his destruction was necessary to the tranquillity of Athens and the safety of Sparta. Critias was afterwards put to death by Thrasybulus, when he delivered Athens from the usurpation of the Thirty.

Plutarch, in the above passage, quotes the elegies of Critias. Some fragments of them are also preserved in Athenæus. His father's name, Callæschrus, is compounded of κάλλος and αἶσχος, like Onslow, with the etymological and antithetic motto, *Festina lentè.*

During Alcibiades's stay at Athens, a proposal was made on the part of the mob to invest him with absolute power. The principal citizens were alarmed at this, and promoted his early embarkation on military service. The more to expedite his departure, they gave him the choice of his colleagues. His election fell on Aristocrates and Adimantus; but their commission extended no further than the joint command of the land forces, After a successful battle, the difficulty of raising money to put the pay of his own seamen on a level with that of the Lacedemonian mariners, gave rise to a new accusation. He found it necessary to go into Caria for this purpose, and left the care of the fleet to Antiochus, a skilful pilot, but with all the temerity of one inexperienced in command. This Antiochus was the man, who recovered the quail for him, which had escaped from under his robe while he was in a crowd, giving money towards a donative to the people. This slight circumstance had made so lasting an impression of kindness misplaced, that Alcibiades now entrusted him with the command of the fleet in his absence. Antiochus was left with positive orders not to fight; but he could not resist the apparent opportunity of distinguishing himself, and was completely beaten with the loss of life. Lysander took fifteen ships, and retired with his fleet after the action to Lesbos. The Athenians, in disgust at this miscarriage, lent a willing ear to the charges brought against Alcibiades by his enemies, and made a new distribution of military offices. Ten commanders were appointed, in which list his name was omitted. The commission by which he was superseded, was composed of Conon, Diome-

-don, Leontes, Pericles, Erasinides, Aristocrates, Archestratus, Protomachus, Thrasyllus, and Aristogenes.

For the three succeeding years, the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh of the Peloponnesian war, having quitted Athens, Alcibiades was hovering about, and making war on his own account. In the first of these years, Conon, after making incursions into the enemy's country, was defeated by Callicratides. In the second, the Athenians fought a battle, and obtained a victory at Arginusæ; on which occasion they gave a memorable instance of ingratitude and injustice. Theramenes brought a charge against the victorious generals, that they had left the bodies of the dead unburied. This would have been thought indecorous, as a matter of feeling, in modern times: but so entirely were this sensitive and superstitious people scandalised at the neglect, that they sentenced six of the ten commanders to death. Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus, were appointed successors. Towards the latter end of the following year, the Athenians under them sailed to Ægos-Potamos, on the borders of the Hellespont, opposite to Lampsacus, where Lysander was stationed, and offered him battle every morning. The remainder of the day was passed in disorder, and careless contempt of their opponent, of which Alcibiades, though out of office, was sufficiently patriotic to warn them, but without effect. The result was, a defeat. In the twenty-eighth year, Lysander took Athens, burnt the shipping, and destroyed the Long Walls.

Alcibiades had retired into Bithynia. There he lost the principal part of his property, by

robbery on the part of the Thracians. Themistocles had arrived at the Persian court, just after Artaxerxes had succeeded Xerxes, and had obtained the patronage of the king. On the strength of this precedent, Alcibiades determined to solicit his protection. He felt that if trial were but made of his services, his pretensions would be much more honourable than those of Themistocles, who had sought the king's aid against his countrymen; but he meant to have exerted his influence in their behalf. But these intended efforts were prevented by his untimely death under the hands of assassins, at a village in the mountainous part of Phrygia. This savage act appears to have been devised by Lysander at the suggestion of the Spartan magistrates. Magæus and Susamithres, the brother and uncle of Lysander, were sent to negotiate with Pharnabazus, who lent himself to the treachery under the mean influence of political jealousy. The murderers were afraid to face their victim, and therefore set his house on fire. Of this he stopped the progress by throwing clothes and hangings upon it. He then sallied forth sword in hand. The barbarians dared not encounter him, but slew him from a distance with darts and arrows, and retreated. Timandra covered the body with her own robes, and buried it in a town called Melissa. Of Timandra, Plutarch says: —Ταύτης λέγουσι θυγατέρα γενέσθαι Λαΐδα, τὴν Κορινθίαν μὲν προσαγορευθεῖσαν, ἐκ δὲ Τυχάρων Σικελικοῦ πολίσματος αἰχμάλωτον γενομένην. Timandra is the name by which this mistress of Alcibiades is generally known: but Athenæus calls her Damasandra. He had always two mistresses in his train. Athenæus gives the second the name of Theodota;

and asserts that the funeral pomp was principally furnished by her. Whichever of the two contributed the larger share, it seems to have been liberal in proportion to their means; for they erected a monument, which lasted to the time of Athenæus, who actually saw it. The Emperor Adrian perpetuated the memory of this great man, by erecting a statue of Parian marble on the basis of this monument, and ordering an annual sacrifice of a bull to his manes.

ON CALLIMACHUS.

CALLIMACHUS was the son of Battus. Suidas places him in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, at whose court he resided about the year 280 before Christ. There is however some doubt whether the patronymic Battiades may not refer to the descent of which he boasted from King Battus, the founder of Cyrene, of which town the poet was a native.

In an epitaph on his father, whoever he might be, he has paid his filial duty, and returned his early obligations, if verse can repay them. The lines are a beautiful specimen of this kind of composition. The old man addresses those who may happen to visit his tomb: —

Ὅστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα, Καλλιμάχου με
Ἰσθὶ Κυρηναίου παιδά τε καὶ γενεήν.
Εἰδείης δ' ἄμφω κεν· ὁ μὲν πολὺ παλροδος ὅπλων
Ἦρξεν, ὁ δ' ἤεισεν κρείσσονα βασκανίης.
Οὐ νέμεσις· Μοῦσαι γὰρ ὅσους ἴδον ὄμμαλι παῖδας,
Ἄχρι βίου πολιοὺς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους. *

Suidas says he wrote eight hundred pieces: — Καὶ ἐστιν αὐτῷ τὰ γεγραμμένα βιβλία ὑπὲρ τὰ ὠ. . . . . Τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ βιβλίων ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα· Ἰοῦς ἄφιξις. Σεμέλη· Ἄργους

* Ἀχριβέος, the reading of the Anthologia. Dr. Blomfield introduces the more elegant reading, Μὴ λοξῷ into the text.

οἰκισμοί. Ἀρκαδία. Γλαυκὸς. Ἐλπίδες. Σαλυρικὰ δρόμαια. Τραγῳδίαι. Κωμῳδίαι. Μέλη. Ἴθις. ἔστι δὲ ποίημα ἐπιλελησμένον εἰς ἀσάφειαν καὶ λοιδορίαν, εἴς τινα Ἴβιν, γενόμενον ἐχθρὸν τοῦ Καλλιμάχου. He goes on to enumerate many other works, of which only a very few fragments have come down to us.

Madame Dacier edited Callimachus in the year 1674. The edition ranges with the Delphin Classics, and is the only Greek work which does so. In her Dedicatory Epistle *Viro illustri Petro Danieli Huetio*, she says, "In Græcis Litteris nil elegantius, nil tersius, nil politius unquam fuit."

The recent edition by Dr. Blomfield, the present Bishop of Chester, is now become the standard. With respect to the merits of the poet, he mentions in his preface the unfavourable opinion of Dr. Johnson and of Ernesti, against which, without giving his own, he sets those of Politian, Muretus, and Ruhnken. As the lady, whose panegyric runs so high, is not added to this triumvirate, we may suspect that His Lordship does not hold female criticism and scholarship in any great veneration, at least in the classical line. Ancient testimonies may be added to the modern. Ovid, in his Catalogue of Poets, settles his character very decisively: —

> Battiades semper toto cantabitur orbe;
> Quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet.
>
> *Amor.* lib. i. eleg. 15.

To torture these words into any sense but that which they obviously bear, is both hypercritical and unnecessary: but it seems probable from another passage, that the disparagement is to be attributed

rather to poetical jealousy and the spirit of rivalship, than to cool and unbiassed judgment: —

Est, quæ Callimachi præ nostris rustica dicat
Carmina: cui placeo, protinus ipsa placet.
Lib. ii. eleg. 4.

It should seem from this that it was the height of his ambition to be considered as superior to Callimachus; and that he should at once fall in love with a mistress, who would but pay him that compliment.

The ancient testimonials to Callimachus have been peculiarly liable to question and equivocation. Propertius, in the thirty-fourth elegy of his second book, has this couplet: —

Tu satius Musis meliorem imitere Philetam,
Et non inflati somnia Callimachi.

Here the word *non*, may be construed two ways. The most natural interpretation seems to be, to take it with the participle *inflati*, and then it is perfectly consistent with another couplet: —

Inter Callimachi sat erit placuisse libellos,
Et cecinisse modis, Dore poeta, tuis.
Lib. iii. eleg. 9.

But Scaliger attaches *non* to a second *imitere*, and thus converts the praise into a censure. Now this seems the more improbable from another passage, which runs thus: —

Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona:
Mî folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua,
Ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Umbria libris,
Umbria Romani patria Callimachi.

It seems very unlikely that he should intend any general censure, when he wishes to be considered as the Roman Callimachus. To reconcile this difficulty, and yet maintain his construction, Scaliger supposes that he aimed at a particular piece which his friend might think of translating. If this conjecture be right, probably the poem which Scaliger conceives to be alluded to is right also: namely, Τὰ Αἴτια, a harsh and obscure work, if we may believe Martial, who says: — "Legas Ætia Callimachi," speaking of a person who took pleasure in obscure writings. It is further to be observed, in proof that even Scaliger did not think the sarcasm involved in his construction general; that in the passage of the ninth elegy of the third book, the two old readings were *Coë poeta*, and *Dure poeta*. Scaliger himself proposed to read *Pure Poeta*, for *Dure*. But the substitution of *o* for *u*, instead of *P* for *D*, has been established in the text of all the later and most approved editions. Quinctilian also says: — "Tunc et elegiam vacabit in manus sumere cujus princeps habetur Callimachus."—*Institutiones Oratoriæ*, lib. x. cap. 1.

To establish the real character of a poet, who is said to have composed eight hundred pieces, of which only some hymns and epigrams remain, is extremely difficult; and may have led my respected friend, the Bishop of Chester, to decline the task: for if he will not venture to appreciate a Greek poet, who shall? Certainly not I: and therefore I shall only subjoin specimens; and leave the reader, which perhaps is the safest and best, though the privative mode of criticism, to form his own decision according to his natural taste and judgment.

The conclusion of the hymn to Apollo shows that he had a satirical turn, even in his religious compositions. His enemies alleged, that he was incompetent to the composition of any extended work. He answers them sarcastically by versifying the proverb, Μέγα βιβλίον, μέγα κακὸν. But he wrote his Hecate, a lost work of magnitude, to refute the calumny.

Ὁ φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐς οὖαλα λάθριος εἶπεν,
Οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν, ὃς οὐχ, ὅσα πόντος, ἀείδει.
Τὸν φθόνον Ἀπόλλων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν, ὧδέ τ' ἔειπεν·
Ἀσσυρίου πολιοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
Λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδασι συρφετὸν ἕλκει.
Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι Μέλισσαι,
Ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
Πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς, ἄκρον ἄωτον.

The following passage, in the hymn to Jupiter, contains an important sentiment. The poet is speaking of Jupiter's title to the empire of Heaven, as acknowledged without jealousy by his two brothers; and he is philosopher enough to question the rationality of the old story; which makes the three sons of Saturn divide the three kingdoms by lot: —

Δηναιοὶ δ' οὐ πάμπαν ἀληθέες ἦσαν ἀοιδοί·
Φάντο πάλον Κρονίδῃσι διὰ τρίχα δώματα νεῖμαι·
Τίς δέ κ' ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ τε καὶ ἄϊδι κλῆρον ἐρύσσαι,
Ὅς μάλα μὴ νενίηλος; ἐπ' ἰσαίῃ γὰρ ἔοικε
Πήλασθαι· τὰ δὲ τόσσον ὅσον διὰ πλεῖστον ἔχουσι.

The farewell prayer to the deity has an extraordinary mixture, which in a very early poet might

be considered as simple and natural, but in a courtier savours of sarcasm or luxury: —

Χαῖρε μέγα, Κρονίδη παννυπέρλαμε, δῶτορ ἑάων,
Δῶτορ ἀπημονίης· τεὰ δ' ἔργματα τίς κεν ἀείδοι;
Οὐ γένετ', οὐκ ἔσται· τίς κεν Διὸς ἔργματ' ἀείσαι;
Χαῖρε, πάτερ, χαῖρ' αὖθι· δίδου δ' ἀρετήν τ' ἄφενόν τε.
Οὔτ' ἀρετῆς ἄτερ ὄλβος ἐπίσσαλαι ἄνδρας ἄεξειν,
Οὔτ' ἀρετὴ ἀφένοιο· δίδου δ' ἀρετήν τε καὶ ὄλβον.

As a specimen of his sepulchral poetry, we may take, in addition to his inscription on his father, the following epitaph on a friend drowned at sea: —

Ὤφελε μηδ' ἐγένοντο θοαὶ νέες· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡμεῖς
Παῖδα Διοκλείδου Σάμολιν ἐσένομεν·
Νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν εἰν ἁλί που φέρεται νέκυς· ἀντὶ δ' ἐκείνου
Οὔνομα καὶ κενεὸν σῆμα παρεσχόμεθα.

But the most distinguished of his very numerous pieces were those in the elegiac strain, of which only Minerva's Bath has come down to posterity. Yet his compositions in this line constituted the firm foundation of his character among the ancients, who estimated his merit in this elegant and pathetic style most highly. The poem on Queen Berenice's hair still lives in the translation of Catullus, and proves that he was worthy to rank with the Roman triumvirate in the expression of such natural thoughts, as Ovid, who imputes art without genius to him, could not equal with all his wit and refined imagery. It seems that Ovid was like *le commun des Martyrs;* and saw most clearly those faults in others, which were most rank, but to which he was completely blind, in himself. The following lines will give some notion of the turn of

thought. The star is supposed to speak in the language of compliment to its mistress:—

Sed quamquam me nocte premunt vestigia Divûm,
Luce autem canæ Tethyi restituor;
(Pace tua fari hæc liceat, Rhamnusia virgo;
Namque ego non ullo vera timore tegam;
Non, si me infestis discerpant sidera dictis,
Condita quin veri pectoris evolüam)
Non his tam lætor rebus, quam me abfore, semper
Abfore me a dominæ vertice discrucior:
Quicum ego, dum virgo quondam fuit, omnibus expers
Unguentis, una millia multa bibi.

Sidera cur retinent? utinam coma regia fiam:
Proximus Hydrochoi fulgeret Oarion.

The general character of the hymns, which constitute the largest portion of this Greek poet's extant works, partakes much of the lyric, though written in heroic verse; they are composed in a free style, with much spirit, and full of curious matter, illustrative of other authors on subjects of rites, ceremonies, and mythology. The accumulation of epithets and proper names, or what the French call *sobriquets*, may appear tiresome to the reader who reads only for momentary entertainment; but the mythologist, the enquirer into early antiquity, the comparer of idolatrous errors with the true knowledge, the investigator of the fallacious paths which polytheism trod, after its descent from the immoveable mountain of one and undivided truth; of the labyrinth and the darkness in which it wandered after the light was hidden from its eyes, and the guide withdrawn from its steps, in consequence of its waywardness and obstinacy, may find much food for speculation in the Hymns of Callimachus.

ON HORACE.

Sapiens, vitatu quidque petitu
Sit melius, causas reddet tibi: mî satis est, si
Traditum ab antiquis morem servare, tuamque,
Dum custodis eges, vitam famamque tueri
Incolumem possim: simul ac duraverit ætas
Membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice.

HOR. lib. i. sat. 4.

HORACE, as an article in biography, lies within a very narrow compass. Suetonius despatches him in three pages. His story may be told almost in three lines. He was a man of humble birth, patronised for his talents, which were of the most marketable kind: brilliant, and convivial. He became a court poet, and consequently a rake. Had he not been a time-server and a turn-coat, he could not so have risen: but he was not a malignant turn-coat, and he did not vilify his brother poets of more strict principle, either alive or dead. In fact, he lived on terms of friendship and good-will with all of them who were respectable. He was a poet of that class in society, which in modern language is termed *the man of fashion*; and however his life or his writings might fall short, or even offend against what the strict moralist or the divine might require, we shall find him to have retained more right principle, more genuine feeling, more heart, than a licentious court usually leaves to the

ministers or the masters of its revels. In this point of view it is interesting to examine Horace's character, as exhibited by himself in his Satires and Epistles.

His filial piety was most creditable to good feeling. He was far from the affectation of wishing to sink his parentage: on the contrary, he delights in talking of his father; and represents him, both in the passage at the head of this essay, and in others, in a most interesting light. Yet Horace, with his usual good taste, is not led by partiality to make too much of his father. The old man was *libertinus:* consequently must have been plain in his habits, and appears to have been of more than average soundness in understanding: but the propriety of the character is strictly preserved, and has been warmly eulogised by the critics. The father disclaims any power of argumentation, and tells his son that *Sapiens,* the philosopher, will not only teach him what is better to be avoided, and what to be pursued, but will assign the reasons why one action is right and another wrong, and will give him that insight into the nature of things, which none but a professor or a habitual student can communicate. The knowledge necessary for this purpose he disclaims, and is too modest to consider himself as qualified to engage in a discussion on morals as an abstract question. But he can tell his son what custom will exact from him; he can preserve *vitam famamque;* the object of his care is to guard him against rashness, and to hinder him from incurring those dangers, which dissolute habits of life never fail to produce.

The passage, of which I have quoted a portion, may be considered as a summary of parental duty,

conveyed by the striking example of a person, who performed that duty in both its branches, with no other advantage than that of good sense, conscientiously and anxiously exerting itself. Horace tells us in the preceding lines, that his father had laid up something to provide for the subsistence of his children in comfort, though with frugality; and that he exhorts them therewith to be content. In the lines quoted, he represents him as anxious for their reputation. The prudent conduct of the father was amply rewarded by the gratitude of the son, who by these sketches of biographical piety, has raised a monument of fame to that father, not so splendid indeed, but as durable as his own. Nor is the skill with which the lessons of the father are represented to be enforced, less remarkable than their intrinsic wisdom. Moral lectures, when too long or too severe, disgust young minds: this father renders his palatable, by describing in a beautiful metaphor the approaching period when his child's advancement in the acquisition of learning, in bodily and mental strength, will render those artificial and extraneous assistances no longer necessary: *nabis sine cortice.*

Horace's tender sentiments of gratitude to his father appear again in sat. 6.: —

> Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,
> Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum.

The repetition in these two lines is evidently designed to tell us, that he is invulnerable by such attacks, and ready to re-echo the *libertinus* to those who would bawl it in his ears. A few lines further, he makes his birth almost an occasion of boasting: —

Ut veni coràm, singultim pauca locutus,
(Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari)
Non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
Me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,
Sed, quod eram, narro: respondes (ut tuus est mos)
Pauca: abeo; et revocas nono post mense, jubesque
Esse in amicorum numero.

The line in parenthesis leads to an incidental remark, that Horace, with all his wit, was not only no great talker, but naturally bashful and timid, both which properties, often the concomitants of superior genius, are fully though concisely described by the expression, *Infans namque pudor.*

Some apology may seem necessary for so long a descant on common and easy passages. It may, perhaps, be sufficient to allege the pleasing strain of those passages; the sense and intelligence displayed in every clause of them; the expression of the poet's mind in his graver moods. Horace's amatory and bacchanalian songs are elegant and spirited; his talent for humour, as a good-natured satirist, is in the highest degree mirth-provoking; but there is something better than all this: there is a just though not austere philosophy, interspersed through all his writings, whether lyric, satirical, or critical, which checks levity in its downward career towards vice, and surprises mere literary disquisition and critical taste into the service of morality.

Horace was probably indebted in no inconsiderable degree, to the prudential counsels of his father, for that discriminating observation of human nature, which gave a peculiar tone of amenity, a widely varied style and manner to his satirical and didactic writings, so as to prevent his instructions from being offensive to the proudest or the most fastidious of his readers: —

Ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum
Auditoris (et est quædam tamen hic quoque virtus):
Est brevitate opus, ut currat sententia, neu se
Impediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures;
Et sermone opus est, modo tristi, sæpe jocoso,
Defendente vicem modo rhetoris, atque poëtæ,
Interdum urbani, parcentis viribus, atque
Extenuantis eas consultò. Lib. i. sat. 10.

From the description before given of his father's method, it seems to have first taught him that prejudices are most sure to be removed, and converts most sure to be gained, to any system or set of opinions we adopt, by not seeming to advocate them too pertinaciously. The great, especially, are wrapt up in themselves and their own importance. While others look up to literature, science, and philosophy, they look down on those accomplishments with an eye of mere patronage. The apologist for virtue must be candid in his views, and plausible in his address: his praise must not sting those who neglect it too poignantly, his pretensions must not be so high as to discourage those who wish to follow it. Horace's father, though no philosopher, possessed a thorough knowledge of the world: the son imbibed the art of dealing with various characters, of applying himself innocently to their prejudices, and of enforcing what he knew better than themselves, by arguments adapted to their previous habits and cherished hopes. This Aristippus-like assumption of attractive shapes, this versatility of agreeable talent, this fitness for the commerce of the world, is totally distinct from a genius for intrigue, from the machinations of cunning, or depravity of moral purpose. In this

view of the subject, no two poets ever wrote on principles more opposite than Juvenal and Horace. The former attacks the mischievous, the worthless, and the contemptible, with all the violence of declamatory fury. He is eloquent and he is poetical: but it is the eloquence and the poetry of unbridled invective against the disturbers of human happiness. The latter entraps the giddy and the vain into better and more correct manners, by the sportiveness of his fancy, the variety and solid sense of his remarks. He has energy to convince, address to persuade, acuteness to anticipate and obviate objections: poetry and raillery are alternately resorted to; the *dulce* and the *utile* are mingled in agreeable proportions.

In nothing is Horace to be more admired, than in his friendly dispositions, especially towards distinguished persons, whose rival claims to court favour might not unnaturally produce a spirit of jealousy and disunion. His agreeable meeting with Plotius, Varius, and Virgil, on the sea-coast at Sinuessa, a town about eighteen miles from Formiæ, on the Sinus Setinus, as described in the narrative of his journey, has a most engaging air of reality and substance in point of attachment: —

> Postera lux oritur multo gratissima; namque
> Plotius et Varius Sinuessæ, Virgiliusque,
> Occurrunt; animæ, quales neque candidiores
> Terra tulit, neque queis me sit devinctior alter.
>
> Lib. i. sat. v.

He never loses an opportunity of extolling Virgil. In the following passage he tells us that Varius carried epic dignity to such a height *ut nemo*

of the Latin poets: for Virgil's Æneid had not yet appeared. He also describes the characteristic merit of Fundanius on comic, and of Pollio on tragic subjects, in iambics, *pede ter percusso*. As these authors, all but Virgil, are lost to us, I shall transcribe the passage: —

> Arguta meretrice potes, Davoque Chremeta
> Eludente senem, comis garrire libellos,
> Unus vivorum, Fundani: Pollio regum
> Facta canit pede ter percusso: forte epos acer,
> Ut nemo, Varius ducit: molle atque facetum
> Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camœnæ.
>
> Lib. i. sat. 10.

This passage helps to ascertain the date of the satire. It could not be composed before the year 723, because the Georgics were not finished till then, and they as well as the Bucolics are certainly included in the character of *molle atque facetum*. The temple of Apollo Palatine being dedicated about 726, renders it probable that the satire was written in 727, or 728, seven or eight years before Virgil's voyage to Greece, recorded in Horace's prophetic farewell ode.

In a line and a half, the delicacy of sentiment and language, the art of treating plain and common subjects without rudeness, the power of giving a tender feeling and a refined colouring to rural topics, whether in the pastoral or didactic style, which might have afforded subject matter for the lengthened panegyric of an ordinary poet, are here concentrated without loss either of substance or of flavour. The term *facetum* is used in its most extended sense, to represent whatever is graceful and beautiful, the height of elegance and ornament,

as well as witty and agreeable expression. The other adjective is used metaphorically, and likens the drawing of his characters and descriptions to the finest wool of his shepherd's sheep.

His tender affection for his friends breaks out on all occasions of absence or return, of quarrel or reconciliation. In a letter to Julius Florus he enquires into the several particulars of which he wanted to be informed: —

> Juli Flore, quibus terrarum militet oris
> Claudius, Augusti privignus, scire laboro.
>
> Lib. i. epist. 3.

It concludes with a vow to sacrifice to the tutelary gods on his return, and a strong attempt to repair the breach of brotherly friendship: —

> Debes hoc etiam rescribere, si tibi curæ,
> Quantæ conveniat, Munatius; an male sarta
> Gratia nequicquam coit, et rescinditur? At vos
> Seu calidus sanguis, seu rerum inscitia vexat,
> Indomita cervice feros, ubicunque locorum
> Vivitis, indigni fraternum rumpere fœdus,
> Pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva juvenca.

He here not only bears testimony to the sacredness of fraternal ties, and hints at the calamitous consequences of their violation, but augurs from his long experience, that the balance having once been deranged, its readjustment is uncertain, and too likely to be but temporary. He puts it to Florus as strongly as his conciliatory system will allow, whether his own youthful blood and inexperience be not the main obstacle to the restoration of permanent harmony, and gives a pious hint of

that most effective peace-maker, a good dinner at meeting after absence.

So on the return of Pomponius Numida, of the Plotian and Emilian families, from the Spanish war, after an absence of three years, Horace invites a party of friends and schoolfellows, and gives vent to the transports of renewed association with sacrifices, songs, and dances, in the thirty-sixth ode of the first book:—

Et thure et fidibus juvat
  Placare, et vituli sanguine debito,
Custodes Numidæ Deos;
  Qui nunc Hesperia sospes ab ultima
Caris multa sodalibus,
  Nulli plura tamen dividit oscula,
Quam dulci Lamiæ, memor
  Actæ non alio rege puertiæ,
Mutatæque simul togæ.

The age *mutatæ togæ*, of assuming the manly gown, was in the fifteenth year in Horace's time: but a custom prevailed under the emperors, when discipline of every kind began to be relaxed, of dispensing with one year of the regular probation. The *toga* was of different kinds, in point of length, colour, and ornaments, according to the respective rank and profession of the wearers. The ordinary sort was a large woollen cloak in form of a semicircle. It was worn over the tunic.

It may be remarked, that *Hesperia ab ultima* is not used like the epithet *ultima* to *Thule*, but as a geographical designation. All the western part of Europe was called Hesperia; astronomically from the star Hesperus, accompanying the setting sun; mythologically from a son of Atlas, who

reigned in those parts. When therefore *Hesperia* stands without an epithet, or with that of *proxima*, it represents Italy; when with *ultima*, it is appropriated to Spain, as lying farther to the west.

Hitherto we have described the kindness of his sentiments towards his friends: the friendship of great men towards himself was equally honourable to his character. He was courted by men of all parties. To recount the names which are scattered through his works would be endless; but he enumerates among his personal intimates, Cassius, Brutus, Messala, Lollius, Pollio, Agrippa, Mæcenas, and Augustus: —

Cum tibi sol tepidus plures admoveret aures,
Me libertino natum patre, et in tenui re
Majores pennas nido extendisse loqueris,
Ut, quantum generi demas, virtutibus addas;
Me primis urbis belli placuisse domique;
Corporis exigui, præcanum, solibus aptum,
Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.

Lib. i. epist. 20.

He here throws in a humorous account of his own person and temper. The complaint of becoming *præcanus* seems rather whimsical, if that appalling event did not take place till the age of forty, as we may gather from his ode on the return of Augustus from Spain, and we may infer, in addition, that the whiteness did not become universal till ten years afterwards.

There is no author so well deserving of attention as Horace, for the curious and discriminate use of epithets. *Sol tepidus* is not to be applied in the foregoing passage to the excessive heat of the sun, which he would have expressed by *calidus*, as

being hot in contradistinction to cold: *tepidus* is the mean between the two extremes, or moderately warm; and here signifies the evening sun, when the air is more mild and temperate than at mid-day.

Horace's skill and prudence in the recommendation of a friend is conspicuous in his letter to Claudius Tiberius Nero, descended from the ancient family of the Claudii, who were of Appius Claudius's race. He introduces Septimius in the most favourable point of view, with a well-turned compliment to the patron he wished to interest. He insinuates that the prince admits none into his retinue, but men of the most nice probity: he ascribes all the qualities to Septimius, which would entitle him to honour and dignity in so distinguished a situation. *Dignum mente domoque, &c.* is a splendid but delicate panegyric on the patron and the candidate: —

Septimius, Claudi, nimirum intelligit unus,
Quanti me facias: nam cum rogat, et prece cogit,
Scilicet ut tibi se laudare et tradere coner,
Dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis,
Munere cum fungi propioris censet amici,
Quid possim videt ac novit me valdius ipso.
Lib. i. epist. 9.

As Horace was pleased with his friends and acceptable to them, he was also contented with his actual fortune, which is a leading feature in the composition of an agreeable character: —

Ergo ubi me in montes et in arcem ex urbe removi,
Quid prius illustrem Satiris musaque pedestri?
Nec mala me ambitio perdit, nec plumbeus Auster;
Autumnusque gravis, Libitinæ quæstus acerbæ.

Matutine pater, seu Jane libentius audis,
Unde homines operum primos vitæque labores
Instituunt (sic Dis placitum) tu carminis esto
Principium. Lib. ii. sat. 6.

I shall now lay before the reader some passages. illustrative of Horace's wit, and humorous delineation of character.

One of his earliest compositions was written in revenge against Publius Rupilius Rex, a native of Prænestè, who had affronted him by spitting out his *pus atque venenum*, his malice and abuse. The story begins thus: —

Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum
Hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor
Omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.
Lib. i. sat. 7.

Purblind people and barbers seem at first sight a strange combination; but it shows the extent of Horace's experience and the acuteness of his remark. Persons who have a defective sight are curious about every thing that passes, and wearisome with the number and irrelevancy of their enquiries. Nature, when curtailed of one sense, always endeavours to work double tides with another. The ears make good the deficiency of sight, and contrariwise. But why are barbers peculiarly inquisitive? Because their shops are the resort of a promiscuous assemblage at leisure hours, a principal mart of vulgar news and vague gossip; by retailing of which the *tonsor* himself at once gratifies his own appetite and earns popularity with his customers.

With respect to the narrative, Rupilius Rex had been proscribed by Augustus in the time of his triumvirate, and had withdrawn to the army of Brutus. He was jealous of Horace's superior fortune, as holding the office of tribune in the army, and indulged in mean scurrilities on the score of his servile extraction. Horace retaliates by describing the contest of Rupilius before Brutus with a merchant who had business in Asia, by name Persius. The poet calls him *Hybrida*, the mongrel, because his father was a Greek and his mother an Italian. Rupilius considered himself as a person of great importance; and the ridicule is heightened by the elevated tone and mock epic of the description. Nothing can be more keen than the satire conveyed in the equal match of the disputants. The two gladiators, Bithus and Bacchius, were not better paired. The historically allusive pun at the conclusion may be thrown out as a bone to the snarlers at that universally condemned, but much practised species of wit.

The ninth satire, in which he draws the picture of an impertinent fop and poetaster, is so excellent that it lives in every man's memory. The combination of literary and personal impertinence is the greatest of all nuisances in society: Horace laid hold of a precious specimen, and displayed it in the most ludicrous point of view. Fops may be divided into two classes; the unconscious and the conscious. Horace's is of the latter description, and the prince of coxcombs. The circumstance of seizing the hand of a person with whom he had little or no acquaintance, is highly characteristic of indelicate boldness; and the stiff civility, the "Your humble servant" of Horace, represents in the most lively

manner the well-bred rebuff which fine gentlemen so well know how to administer: —

> Accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,
> Arreptaque manu, Quid agis, dulcissime rerum?
> Suaviter, ut nunc est, inquam; et cupio omnia quæ vis.

Not that the intrusion could be so shaken off. Sometimes Horace stops short; then he walks fast, but in vain. His inward prayer for Bolanus to relieve him is full of pleasantry, as we must suppose him to have been a person capable of being pleased with so self-conceited a talker. *Paucorum hominum*, applied to Mæcenas, as a person of judgment in the selection of his intimates, is borrowed from Terence, where it is applied by Thraso to the King of Persia, and derives its humour from the proverbial notoriety of the phrase. It was wittily addressed to Scipio by Pontius. Scipio one evening invited two or three friends to sup on fish. He was going to detain another party who accidentally called in afterwards. Pontius took him aside, and cautioned him against promiscuous familiarity. "Your fish is *paucorum hominum*." The pleasantry of the passage is much heightened by the fop considering himself as a fit member of Mæcenas's select society. Horace's answer furnishes an elegant compliment to Mæcenas, in that collateral and unobtrusive mode of eulogy, which practised and judicious courtiers are skilful in employing. A story apposite to the subject of this satire is told of Aristotle. An impertinent fellow related some fact, and asked him if it was not wonderful. "No! but it is wonderful that any man with two sound legs will stop to hear you."

In the third satire of the second book, Horace gives a fictitious dialogue between himself and Damasippus, a Stoic philosopher, who was paying him a visit in the country. In another scene between Damasippus and Stertinius, the latter excepts none but the philosophic sage from the general imputation of human folly. This character he, as a Stoic, maintains to be no where found but on his own system. Horace's object is to ridicule the severity of modern philosophers, and their exaggeration of the principles established by the founders of their respective sects. His peculiar skill is displayed in giving a ludicrous turn to what is ostensibly grave and rational, not with the design of undermining the foundations of truth, but of pulling away the grotesque additions which deface its superstructure. For this purpose he listens with an air of composure to their philosophical lessons. They deal out folly and madness in large portions, and give him his full share. Stertinius, among others, details the maxims of Staberius, and his hope that posterity would know what vast riches he had left behind him, from the information of the inscription on his monument: —

> Quid simile isti
> Græcus Aristippus? qui servos projicere aurum
> In media jussit Libya, quia tardius irent,
> Propter onus segnes.

Horace shows an inclination to be thoroughly acquainted with his own folly, which is the only truth the schools are not calculated to teach, and to see his own picture drawn to the life. Both Damasippus and Stertinius utter excellent precepts, and express them in lively and natural terms.

The mind would at once assent to every thing they propose, but for occasional bursts of extravagance, which turn them and their theories into jest, and are made to serve the moral purpose of humbling philosophical pride in general, and the arrogance of Damasippus in particular.

In the next satire he adopts an opposite topic of ridicule against the imputed doctrine of the Epicureans, who made pleasure, as it was said, to consist in sensuality. He represents those cooking philosophers, who have since been denominated epicures, as slight, insignificant and contemptible. Catius says: —

> Quin id erat curæ, quo pacto cuncta tenerem;
> Utpote res tenues, tenui sermone peractas.

In the next he describes in the most ingenious manner the sordid practices of persons, whose aim was to succeed by flattery to the inheritance of childless old men. But the speculation was carried a degree further: —

> Si cui præterea validus male filius in re
> Præclara sublatus aletur, ne manifestum
> Cœlibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem
> Arrepe officiosus, ut et scribare secundus
> Hæres, et, si quis casus puerum egerit Orco,
> In vacuum venias: perraro hæc alea fallit.

The word *sublatus* refers to that savage custom among the ancients, which left the exposure of children to the option of the fathers. They were laid on the ground immediately on their birth: if the fathers took them up, they acquired civil rights by this adoption, and were educated under the parental roof.

The eighth satire is one of the most entertaining. Horace introduces the description of a miser's entertainment, by the following question to Fundanius: —

> Ut Nasidieni juvit te cœna beati?
> Nam mihi quærenti convivam, dictus heri illic
> De medio potare die.

Men of sobriety among the Romans began their entertainments in the evening. This avaricious person, aiming at the reputation of a boon companion, for a single day of rare recurrence, begins his feast at noon, in the spirit of a true reveller. The flashes of wit and humour succeed each other so entirely without interval, that it would be impossible to do them justice without transcribing a long poem in every scholar's hands.

But if Horace laughs at his friends and all mankind, he feels no reluctance to represent himself in a fantastical point of view: —

> Si quæret quid agam, dic, multa et pulchra minantem,
> Vivere nec recte nec suaviter; haud quia grando
> Contuderit vites, oleamque momorderit æstus,
> Nec quia longinquis armentum ægrotet in agris;
> Sed quia mente minus validus quam corpore toto,
> Nil audire velim, nil discere, quod levet ægrum;
> Fidis offendar medicis, irascar amicis,
> Cur me funesto properent arcere veterno;
> Quæ nocuere sequar; fugiam quæ profore credam;
> Romæ Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam.

The epithet *fidis* must be considered as applying not only to *medicis*, but to *amicis*. By the latter are meant the ancient philosophers, who act as physicians to the mind, and administer remedies

against worldly anxiety and sorrows, by directing their patients to simple and natural enjoyments, by strengthening them against the fear of death, and setting before them their imperfect views of happiness in a future life.

In the third satire of the second book he gives a similar portraiture of himself through the mouth of Damasippus: —

> Atqui vultus erat multa et præclara minantis,
> Si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto.

We must now look at Horace as a philosopher: and in passing to this part of his character, we may notice his fondness for a country life as a proof that he was not a courtier at heart, but that he could adorn the freedom and tranquillity of a rural retreat with all the charms of poetical feeling: —

> Perditur hæc inter misero lux, non sine votis:
> O rus, quando ego te aspiciam? quandoque licebit,
> Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis,
> Ducere solicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ?
> O quando faba Pythagoræ cognata, simulque
> Uncta satis pingui ponentur oluscula lardo?
> O noctes, cœnæque Deûm! quibus ipse, meique,
> Ante Larem proprium vescor, vernasque procaces
> Pasco libatis dapibus. Lib. ii. sat. 6.

Virtue and competence are here set forth in the most amiable light, and the place pointed out where they may be enjoyed in the highest perfection. The peaceful evenings and social suppers in the country are called the nights and repasts of the gods, because the happiness found at them was unalloyed. There is a tone of genuine feeling, a recollection of rational enjoyment in these lines,

which convince us that Horace was not acting the philosopher, but expressing his real sentiments. Yet grave as the passage is, he could not resist a stroke of satire at the kindred of Pythagoras to the bean, which, according to him, having been produced from the same corruption, and at the same time with man, was to be treated with filial abstinence and reverence. But Horace was no Pythagorean, and could eat his beans and bacon with a safe conscience, and a farmer-like appetite.

On another occasion he expresses impatience to see his country-seat, and illustrates the persuasions to rural enjoyment by a most ingenious comparison. It was a proverbial saying, that no slaves were so happy as the servants of priests. Instead of coarse household bread, they lived on the cakes offered to the gods by votaries. Yet, as it sometimes happened, they were so glutted with this "cheesecake diet," that they ran away from their master's house to get a slice of ordinary bread. In like manner Horace is sickened of town gaieties, and runs into the country for a taste of simple, unadulterated pleasures: —

> Quid quæris? vivo et regno, simul ista reliqui
> Quæ vos ad cœlum fertis rumore secundo:
> Utque sacerdotis fugitivus, liba recuso;
> Pane egeo jam mellitis potiore placentis.
>
> Lib. i. epist. 10.

> Rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum.
>
> Lib. i. epist. 14.

His account of his Sabine farm, in his epistle to Quintius, furnishes a pleasing specimen of his descriptive powers. Along a valley, between the

Teverone and *Currese*, a ridge of hills ran from north to south, divided by another valley from east to west, where lay the territories of Blandusia and Mandela. The mountain Lucretilis was in the centre of Blandusia. One of its sides, called Ustica, gave the name to Horace's house and lands. The Digentia had its source in the district of Ustica, and flowed through Blandusia and Mandela, watering a wood, which, with a temple in it, was dedicated to the goddess Vacuna:—

> Continui montes, nisi dissocientur opaca
> Valle; sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat Sol,
> Lævum discedens curru fugiente vaporet.
>
> Lib. i. epist. 16.

This being the bent of Horace's taste, though he was not a didactic writer, many notices are scattered through his works, which throw light on ancient agriculture. Among others, we learn that the shepherds drove their flocks alternately in summer and winter, to the distant pasturages of Calabria and Lucania.

It has been observed before that our poet's character is not to be rated by his table songs. He takes many opportunities of censuring the voluptuousness of his contemporaries, and commending the temperance and frugality of the early Roman heroes:—

> Hos utinam inter
> Heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!
> Das aliquid famæ, quæ carmine gratior aurem
> Occupat humanam? Grandes rhombi patinæque
> Grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus.
>
> Lib. ii. sat. 2.

The necessity of virtue and wisdom, without which freedom is a snare and not a blessing, constitutes a favourite topic with him. In the satire in which Davus takes the privilege of the Saturnalia, the poet puts into the mouth of his Grecian slave, by way of making the object of preference more characteristic and less offensive, a description of Rome, as a sink of impurity; of Athens, as the seat of learning and virtue. In earlier and more *heroic* days, a person would have been considered as a coxcomb, and a violator of public decency, had he appeared with more than one ring. In the more luxurious times, it was the fashion to wear three. He describes the inconsistency of mankind, in vacillating between virtue and vice, in a very spirited portrait: —

> Sæpe notatus
> Cum tribus annellis, modo læva Priscus inani,
> Vixit inæqualis, clavum ut mutaret in horas;
> Ædibus ex magnis subito se conderet, unde
> Mundior exiret vix libertinus honeste:
> Jam mœchus Romæ, jam mallet doctus Athenis
> Vivere; Vertumnis, quotquot sunt, natus iniquis.
>
> Lib. ii. sat. 7.

In a letter to Mæcenas, he attacks two of the most common vices, which throw impediments in the way of human happiness. The first is avarice and ambition warring with united forces; the second is levity and inconstancy in the objects of pursuit. For these two diseases he proposes two remedies: truth, and honesty or honour: what the Greeks term πρέπον, the Latins *decorum*, which is Cicero's word throughout the first book of his Offices. His definition of it includes the practice

of all the virtues; a course of action worthy of human nature. He seems indeed to consider it as the leading distinction between the instinct of the lower animals and the reason of man: — "Nec vero illa parva vis naturæ est rationisque, quod unum hoc animal sentit, quid sit ordo; quid sit, quod deceat; in factis dictisque qui modus."

Horace exhibits himself here in an interesting light; as abjuring slighter composition, and devoting himself to philosophy, which consists in the contemplation and knowledge of things, and to what he calls the *decens*, or that conduct of which the *verum* is the parent. He professes however to be the votary of no sect. Truth was his choice, wherever he could find it. His experienced scrutiny had discovered the forte and the feeble of every sect: we have seen in repeated instances, how he calls them back from their fallacies, and winds a retreat when they have lost their game, and are pursuing the counterscent of prejudice. He was the huntsman, not one of the hounds: had he belonged to the pack, his cry might have been louder than the rest, but its articulation would have been lost in the hubbub and confusion of the field: —

Nunc itaque et versus et cætera ludicra pono;
Quid verum atque decens, curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum;
Condo, et compono, quæ mox depromere possim:
Ac ne forte roges, quo me duce, quo lare tuter;
Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,
Quo me cunque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.
Lib. i. epist. 1.

Truth accomplishes the philosopher, and virtue makes the man happy. The sincere enquirer after

both, to be successful, must be earnest, consistent, and unwearied in his endeavours: he must think for himself, without rejecting either the discoveries or the experiences of others. Difficulties vanish before assiduous research, and proficiency is the reward of perseverance. Plato has a fine passage on this subject, in the sixth book of his Republic: — Ἡγουμένης δὴ ἀληθείας, οὐκ ἄν ποτε, οἶμαι, φαῖμεν αὐτῇ χορὸν κακῶν ἀκολουθῆσαι. Πῶς γάρ; Ἀλλ' ὑγιές τε καὶ μέτριον ἦθος· ὃ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἕπεσθαι.

The next epistle, to Lollius, contains precautions against ambition, avarice, debauchery, and passion: —

Semper avarus eget: certum voto pete finem.

The miseries and inconsistency of avarice have furnished an abundant topic to all writers on morals and manners. From the following passage of Cicero pro Roscio, we learn how easy it is for those who are not blinded by avarice, to detect the machinations of the avaricious man, or to lead him to his own ruin: — "O præclarum testem, judices! O gravitatem dignam expectatione! O vitam honestam, atque ejusmodi, ut libentibus animis ad ejus testimonium vestrum jusjurandum accommodetis! Profecto non tam perspicue istorum maleficia videremus, nisi ipsos cœcos redderet cupiditas, et avaritia, et audacia."

Sat. Sed quibus captus dolis,
Nostros dabit perductus in laqueos pedem?
Inimica credit cuncta. Atr. Non poterat capi,
Nisi capere vellet. Regna nunc sperat mea:
Hac spe minanti fulmen occurret Jovi;
Hac spe subibit gurgitis tumidi minas;

Dubiumque Libycæ Syrtis intrabit fretum;
Hac spe, quod esse maximum retur malum,
Fratrem videbit. *Seneca in Thyeste*, 286.

In an epistle to Numicius, our author proves that the admiration of unworthy objects is a principal cause of misery: —

Hunc solem, et stellas, et decedentia certis
Tempora momentis, sunt qui formidine nulla
Imbuti spectent. Lib. i. epist. 6.

Horace's reasoning stands on this foundation. Nothing is naturally so calculated to excite the astonishment and raise the admiration of the human mind, as the structure of the universe, the uniformity of motion in the bodies that compose our system, the revolutions of the seasons, and the complicated, yet methodised arrangement of existing things. Some philosophers have seen *hunc solem, et stellas*, and yet have admired nothing. If they have not been moved by these wonders, if their hearts have not been affected by the connection between themselves and this stupendous machinery of material splendour, how can we admire the inferior glories of the mine or of the palace? How can we value, or even withhold our contempt from the trappings of state, or the frivolity of popular applause, and the ephemeral triumph of political honours? This world contains nothing which a wise man would admire. The hierarchies of heaven obey the will of their Creator: the impression their magnificence should make on us, is to lead us to look down on them, and up to their first Mover.

The last point of view in which we have to look at Horace, is the literary and the critical. The scope of his ambition in his writings, was to please judges of a certain cast: —

> Nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax,
> Contemtis aliis, explosa Arbuscula dixit.
> Lib. i. sat. 10.

The *Equites*, or Knights, are here taken for the nobility at large, and especially those of a cultivated mind. To stand well with posterity, we must please our contemporaries of the best taste. Each age furnishes a few; no age furnishes many. But a reputation so established is preferable to the shouts of the vulgar, which are silent after the first explosion: a fame founded on enlightened approbation is like the swell of a well-tuned instrument; barely audible when the tone is first emitted, but increasing in progressive vibration, till it fills the area within which it is confined. As his own critic, he maintains his claim to originality, though he had been accused of plagiarism: —

> Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,
> Non aliena meo pressi pede. Lib. i. epist. 19.

He maintains that he had discovered a path unknown to the poets of his country, and that he is a guide, not a follower: but he acknowledges that he has imitated the Greeks, and points out how his countrymen may imitate him, instead of copying what is least valuable. In the second

epistle of the same book, he lays down rules for reading the poets in general with advantage: —

> Fabula, qua Paridis propter narratur amorem
> Græcia Barbariæ lente collisa duello,
> Stultorum regum et populorum continet æstus.

The fable is what the Greek critics call μύθος, or the disposition of the subject. Order and arrangement of parts are necessary to the composition of a poem. We hear much of the probable and the improbable in a story. It matters not how absurd or improbable be the end, provided the means be natural and probable. Tasso and Ariosto please not only the lovers of the marvellous and the extravagant, but the very readers of taste and judgment who most affect the correctness and purity of Virgil. Were probability of story indispensible, Æsop's fables would never have penetrated beyond the nursery: yet they have been edited by those who were competent to comment on the Iliad. The difference between the fabulist and Homer, setting aside the graces and splendours of poetry, which have nothing to do with the present question, is that Æsop makes beasts, the poet makes men, his heroes. The mode of conducting the actions of the heroes is strictly analogous; the moral of either apologue is rational.

The character of Horace's genius as a critic is principally to be drawn from his epistles to the Pisos and to Augustus. There are two kinds of the epistle; the elegiac and the didactic. The former, the characteristic of which is sensibility of

nature and elegance of mind, or perhaps more properly tenderness of heart, is Ovid's province. The latter requires superiority of sound and common sense, an extensive knowledge of human life, and the polish of high breeding and courtly address. Here Horace reigned without a rival, in that delicate department of moral criticism, which partakes more of refined sentiment than of scholastic learning or precision. In the epistle to Augustus, he ridicules the unmeaning admiration of antiquity: —

> Nævius in manibus non est, et mentibus hæret
> Pæne recens? adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema.

But this is far from being uttered in contempt of the poets who preceded him. We admire the masculine understanding, the easy expression, the unsophisticated representation of life and manners in the old writers of our own country. Horace entertained no less candid and rational esteem for the early Roman poets, who formed themselves on the model of Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes: —

> Illi, scripta quibus comœdia prisca viris est,
> Hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi; quos neque pulcher
> Hermogenes unquam legit, neque simius iste,
> Nil præter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.
>
> Lib. i. sat. 10.

This Hermogenes Tigellius was a literary as well as a personal dandy. He was the favourite musician of Augustus; insipid in his tastes, more

barbarous in his delicacy, than the utmost barbarism of unadulterated roughness. Yet this fellow thought it genteel to affect antiquarian literature; and professed himself the partisan of Lucilius, whom Horace swears he never read. Horace was the advocate, and the model of correctness; but it was only to counteract this egregious foppery, that he for a moment attempted to dam up the ancient spring of genuine poetry. His ear could not reconcile itself to the ruggedness of verse in Lucilius: but in a passage at the beginning of the last-quoted satire, he apologises for his presumption: —

> Quis tam Lucilî fautor inepte est,
> Ut non hoc fateatur? at idem, quod sale multo
> Urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.

Horace repels the imputation of contradictory criticism. He admits the wit and pleasantry of the old bard's writings, which had animated the coarse merriment of a preceding generation; but finds himself bound to enter his protest against the harshness of his versification. The two positions, which the witlings of his day had endeavoured to represent as contradictory, are perfectly in unison with the true principles and consistency of criticism.

Horace's Lucilian satires are a curious part of his critical works. However ready to admit the general merit of Lucilius, the correctness of manners and taste in the Augustan age, his own station at court, as the *arbiter elegantiarum*, made it necessary for him to establish a Procrustes' bed of

criticism, to which the dimensions of the old poet were incommensurate. Yet the fashionable cry was at this time for the ancients: that of Hermogenes for Lucilius, that of Demetrius for Calvus and Catullus, and we have already seen that Plautus was more popular than Terence. The court therefore was divided into parties; and it was necessary for Horace, with whom popularity was as it were a stock in trade, to unite with one without giving mortal offence to the other. He had to parry as well as to thrust; and this consideration will enable us to reconcile the seeming incongruities of his critical opinions. In writing critically, he had objects ulterior to criticism. The galled jades, who winced at his censures, thought to elude their point by crying up the broad blunt satire of a former poet: Horace, who had no malignity, and less vigour than his predecessor Lucilius, the satirist of a coarser age, or than his successor Juvenal, the satirist of a period still more corrupt than his own, was obliged to exercise the arts of pleading in behalf of that tender treatment, by which alone he could manage and regulate the loose and slippery morals of a luxurious court and people.

Dr. Hurd says, the epistle to Augustus is *an apology for the Roman poets.* His epistle to the Pisos is a criticism on the Roman drama, according to this critic, and not on the art of poetry in general. Baxter is of the same opinion. "Satira hæc est in sui sæculi poetas, præcipue vero in Romanum Drama." We find indeed desultory remarks on all departments; but nothing like a principled system of criticism, an *ars et institutio poetica.* The most that can be made of it is a

miscellaneous collection, if we consider poetry at large as the subject of the piece. Under the influence of this latter prejudice, says Dr. Hurd, "several writers of name took upon them to comment and explain it: and with the success which was to be expected from so fatal a mistake on setting out, as the not seeing that the proper and sole purpose of the author was, not to abridge the Greek critics, whom he probably never thought of; nor to amuse himself with composing a short critical system, for the general use of poets, which every line of it absolutely confutes; but, simply to criticise the *Roman drama*. For to this end, not the tenor of the work only, but, as will appear, every single precept of it, ultimately refers." This eminent critic displays much ingenuity in remedying the mischief of so fundamental an error. Instead of considering it as an epitome of the Greek critics, according to which notion it would often be difficult to reconcile him with his supposed authorities, and often necessary to create conformities never thought of by the author, Dr. Hurd establishes a unity in the subject, and a connection in the method. On his hypothesis, what as a maxim or remark on universal poetry would seem slight, unsatisfactory, or unconnected, appears in its proper place in the general order of the author's reflections, as illustrating the state of the Roman theatre at particular periods. The especial rules of composition are all directed to the formation of a Roman dramatist, whose business it is to derive instruction and assistance from the kindred families of the poetic art; and hence it is, that in a treatise on the stage, we glean occasional information, but no consistent and regulated

theory of the epic, the didactic, the elegiac and the satirical styles.

Horace and Virgil have given much offence by their flattery of Augustus. The former in the epistle to Augustus: —

> Præsenti tibi maturos largimur honores,
> Jurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras,
> Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.

Their only apology is to be found in the universal incense of extravagant adulation, offered up by all the court poets of the Augustan age. The blasphemous practice of erecting altars to the emperors, took its rise under the tyranny of Julius Cæsar. The senate had enjoined, by an express decree, that the Romans should swear by Cæsar's health and safety, even in his lifetime. Balbus says in a letter to Cicero, "Hæc quam prudenter tibi scribam, nescio: sed illud certe scio, me ab singulari amore ac benevolentia, quæcumque scribo, tibi scribere: quod te (ita, incolumi Cæsare, moriar) tanti facio, ut paucos æque ac te caros habeam." — *Ep. ad Att.* This passage shows that Cæsar was at this period an every-day oath. He has no more to do than Jove or Pallas with the subject of the sentence into which he is parenthetically introduced; so that this vow of self-devotion for his sake has not even the merit of what Sheridan calls *sentimental swearing*. Those who have gone this length will go further. The following passage from Dio completes the farce: —

Ἄλλην τε τινὰ εἰκόνα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν θεῷ ἀνικήτῳ ἐπιγράψαντες, καὶ ἄλλην ἐς τὸν Καπιτώλιον παρὰ τοὺς βασιλεύσαντας ποτὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἀνέθεσαν. — Lib. xliii.

When we see a senate thus enslaving itself, and voting idolatry by Act of Parliament, we cannot wonder that the gay satellites of a court should follow the example of the conscript fathers, *the potent, grave, and reverend Seniors*, though at a respectful distance from the exaggerations of their flattery.*

* The length and general scope of this article will not admit of any present review of Horace as a lyric poet. Lipsius says in a letter to Cruquius, "Horatio, mi Cruqui, in Lyricis merito illud Homericum dabimus, . . . αἷς κολφανος ἴσω."—*Epistolicarum Quæstionum*, lib. ii.

ON THE CHARACTERS OF TITUS AND BERENICE.

Tacitus and Josephus are the two authors from whom the character of Titus is principally to be drawn. Tacitus is supposed to have been raised to the office of quæstor, and probably to the rank of senator, by Vespasian. His gradation through the magistracy was progressive under Titus, till he reached the functions either of tribune or ædile. He tells us in his annals, that he was one of the college of fifteen, and invested with the office of prætor, in the time of Domitian. Both these historians painted from the life, and under personal obligation. Tacitus had been promoted by Titus, Josephus had been treated with mildness and generosity by him, and had submitted to him his history of the Jewish war, which the conqueror of Jerusalem not only approved, but subscribed with his own hand, and gave orders for its publication. Tacitus commences the second book of his history, by remarking that fortune was preparing an important scene in another quarter of the world, and laying the foundation of a new imperial family, destined at first to flourish in prosperity, and in the end, after a disastrous reign, to be hurled from its pre-eminence by a dread-

ful catastrophe. The fate of the people, alternately beneficial and calamitous, was identified with the destinies of its successive sovereigns. Rome prospered under Vespasian and Titus, but suffered severely during the reign of Domitian. The tyrant was stopped in his career, and the Flavian family became extinct.

At the beginning of this book, Tacitus describes in an interesting manner, but with his usual brevity, the talents, accomplishments, person, and character of Titus. He was at this time in his twenty-eighth year. By the favour of Narcissus, to whom his father Vespasian paid court, he was educated in the palace with Britannicus, the son of Claudius. The destined heir to the empire was cut off by Nero's villany: but Titus, who then seemed to be stationed far below the seat of imperial ambition, survived to reign in glory, and with the high esteem of the Roman people. On this subject there is a story in Suetonius, that Claudius's favourite freedman, Narcissus, Titus's early patron, consulted a fortune-teller about the destiny of Britannicus. The huckster of futurity obstinately persisted in his prediction, that the young prince would never reign, but that Titus, who was standing by, was born to sovereignty.

While Galba was supposed to be still in possession of supreme power, Vespasian sent his son from Judea to congratulate that emperor. At Corinth, Titus received intelligence of Galba's murder. An uncertain, probably a disputed succession, presented but a choice of difficulties. He resolved to proceed no farther than Greece. On setting sail from Corinth, he directed his course

towards Rhodes and Cyprus. "Inde Syriam audentioribus spatiis petebat." At Cyprus he visited the temple of the Paphian Venus, and consulted her Oracle. The answer was auspicious, and he returned to his father. Tacitus mentions a prevailing impression, that his connection with Berenice, sister to Agrippa the Second, and wife of Herod, king of Chalcis in Syria, secretly influenced this retrograde movement. This part of Titus's history will be looked into hereafter. *

On the death of Vitellius, a decree passed the Senate, appointing Titus his father's colleague in the consulship. When Vespasian began to turn his thoughts towards Italy, he determined to leave his son Titus in the command of the army, and to confer on him the prosecution of the war against the Jews. The speech of Titus to his father at parting, places his character in a most amiable point of view. Its sole object seems to have been, to plead in favour of Domitian. He cautioned Vespasian against being rashly incensed by insinuations of criminality. Towards his own son, it were but just to be unprejudiced and mild. A numerous issue affords more firm support to the imperial dignity than fleets and armies. Friends drop off by death, and abandon us to follow more inviting fortunes: they renounce us in disgust at the disappointment of unreasonable or impossible expectations. But blood forms an indissoluble tie, especially between princes, in whose fate all their kindred must be involved: nor can brothers be

* Fuere, qui *accensum desiderio Berenices Reginæ, vertisse iter* crederent. Neque abhorrebat a Berenice juvenilis animus: sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo impedimentum. — *Historiarum*, lib. ii. cap. 2.

expected to live in unity, but under the influence and example of their common parent.

After serving with his father in Britain, in Germany, and in Judea, with the winning behaviour and address ascribed to him by Tacitus, it is no wonder that he gained a complete ascendency over his soldiers. In the fifth book, his army is described as consisting of the fifth, tenth and fifteenth legions, which had served under Vespasian, the twelfth from Syria, and two others from Alexandria, with twenty cohorts of allies, and eight squadrons of horse. The kings Agrippa and Sohemus accompanied him, King Antiochus sent auxiliaries, and the Arabs took the field against the Jews, whom they hated. With this tremendous force Titus encamped near Jerusalem, and besieged the city. The fifth and tenth legions here mentioned, had been brought from Alexandria in the time of Nero, when Vespasian sent his son for them from Achaia, while he himself passed over the Hellespont, and went by land into Syria, where he collected the Roman forces, and organised the subsidiary armies of the neighbouring kings.

It is at this period, that Josephus takes up the history of Titus. He sailed, as has been stated, from Achaia to Alexandria, earlier than was generally practicable in winter. With the forces for which he was sent, he marched expeditiously and unexpectedly to Ptolemais. He found his father there with the fifteenth legion, to which he joined the forementioned fifth and tenth, which were the most distinguished in the service. Eighteen cohorts followed these legions. Five others came from Cæsarea, with one troop of horsemen, and five other troops of horsemen from Syria.

The filial piety of Titus was conspicuous, when a report was circulated in the army that the general was wounded. The Romans were thrown into extreme disorder at the sight of Vespasian's blood; and the agony of the son, with the regard they had for the father, spread so general a panic, that a large portion of the multitude left the siege in surprise and confusion.

In the course of this war, Trajan also displayed that liberal spirit which appeared to so much advantage in his after life. Having gained the victory of Jotapata, he sent messengers to Vespasian requesting him to send his son that he might take possession of the city. Titus came, and his men immediately occupied it: but the inhabitants got together and offered the Romans battle in the narrow streets. The women also threw whatever came to hand, and with the assistance of the fighting men held out for six hours. It ended in total defeat, and the slaughter of young and old, partly in the open air, and partly in their own houses.

At this time Josephus delivered himself up to the Romans. As the brave are generous, his afflictions and his age excited the pity of Titus, who reflected also like a philosopher, that no condition of human life is certain. So arbitrary is the power of fortune, and so rapid the vicissitudes of war, that he who but a while ago was fighting, has fallen into the hands of his enemies. By uttering these sentiments aloud he brought others to the same compassionate feeling with himself, and excited a general commiseration for Josephus. The historian, who tells his own tale with the utmost modesty, addressed a speech to Vespasian after he had desired all but Titus and two of their friends

to withdraw. It contains a very remarkable passage. He tells the Roman general, that though he only thinks he has taken Josephus captive, that Josephus is actually come as a messenger of great tidings: and that had he not been sent by God, he knew the law of the Jews under certain circumstances, and how it becomes generals to die. Now by the law of the Jews is generally understood the law of Moses; but self-murder, in preference to slavery under heathens, is no where to be found as a maxim of that law. It is probable that the allusion is to some doctrine of the Pharisees, Essenes, or Herodians, or to some strained interpretation substituted for the just consequences to be drawn from the law of God as delivered by Moses. Josephus did not on this occasion obtain his liberty from Vespasian: but suits of clothes and many precious gifts were bestowed on him, with much personal civility. This mild and obliging conduct was continued under the influence of Titus, who contributed his full share to the honours conferred on him.

The valour of Titus in the expedition against Taricheæ is recorded in the third book of the Jewish war, chap. 10. Trajan had arrived with four hundred horsemen before the general battle. As the reputation of the victory would be diminished by sharing it with so many, the soldiery, inflamed by a spirited harangue of Titus, fell into an extraordinary fury. Titus made his own horse march first against the enemy, and the others followed with a great noise, extending themselves on the plain to the width of the enemy's front. This manœuvre made them appear much more numerous than they really were. The Jews soon fell back, and Titus pressed upon the hindmost with much

slaughter. Some he fell upon in crowds, others he confronted, and trod them down as they stood encumbered by their own numbers. He cut off their retreat to the wall, and turned them back into the plain: till at last they forced a passage by their own weight, and escaped into the city, the tumult in which was extreme. Titus made another speech to his soldiers while under the wall, in which he called to them not to delay when God was giving the Jews up to them. He appealed for the certainty of victory, to the noise within the city, where those who had got away from the Romans were in an uproar against one another. As soon as he had finished his speech he leaped upon his horse, rode to the lake, and was the first to enter the city, but was immediately supported by his people. After the city was taken, the slaughter continued: for the foreigners who had not fled, made opposition. The natives were killed without fighting: for they abstained in the hope that Titus would extend his right hand as a pledge of amnesty, which they the more expected, as conscious that they had not consented to the war. When the authors of the revolt were slain, Titus stopped the further effusion of blood, and took pity on the innocent inhabitants. The Roman affairs, and the tumults which took place under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, are touched on by Josephus, but the detail is given by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio.

In the fifth book, chap. 2., Josephus gives the order of Titus's army on his march through the enemy's country, states his arrival at Jerusalem, the great danger to which he was exposed, and his extraordinary valour. The auxiliaries sent by the kings marched first, with all the other auxiliaries

following them; then those who were to prepare the roads, and measure out the camp. Next came the commanders' baggage, protected by the other soldiers completely armed. Titus himself followed with another select body, after him the pike-men, and after them the horse belonging to that legion. It was the Roman usage for the general to go in state, in the front of his army. Titus marched before the main body through Samaria to Gophna, a city garrisoned by Roman soldiers, which had formerly been taken by his father. After a night's lodging, he marched on another day's march, and encamped in what the Jews called the *Valley of Thorns*, near a village whose name meant the Hill of Saul, about thirty furlongs from Jerusalem. In his way to the city with a small band he was intercepted; and many darts were thrown at him while he was without head-piece or breast-plate: for he went out to reconnoitre, not to fight. But they all passed aside without hurting him, or even touching his body. Josephus says that they seemed to miss him on purpose, and only to hiss as they passed by him. As he marched forward, his opponents flew off in great numbers, while the few who shared his danger kept close to him, though wounded on their backs and sides. Their only chance of escape was to assist Titus in forcing a passage, that he might not be encompassed before he could get away. He succeeded, and returned in safety to his camp. On another occasion, during a sally of the Jews, Titus was left with a few others in the midst of an acclivity. His friends despised their own danger, and were ashamed to desert their general: but they endeavoured to dissuade him from running into such dangers. The Jews

they represented as desperate, and fond of dying. They ought therefore to be met by the common soldiery. He was commander in chief, and lord of the habitable globe, on whose safety the public interests all hung: his fortunes were too important to be risked in sudden skirmishes with the enemy. These suggestions Titus seemed not even to hear; but opposed those who ran on him, and smote them on the face; forced them back, and slew them. He fell upon great numbers as they marched down the hill, and thrust them forward. His opponents were so astonished at his courage and his strength, that they could not fly directly to the city, but declined from him on both sides, and pressed after those that fled up the hill. Still he fell upon their flank, and arrested their fury. In the mean time, disorder and terror fell upon the Romans, who were fortifying their camp at the top of the hill, on seeing the flight of those who had deserted Titus. The whole legion was dispersed, as thinking that the sallies of the Jews were insupportable, and that Titus was himself put to flight: for they conceived that had it been otherwise, the body would never have been dispersed. This, however, was soon retrieved: Titus continued to press on those that were near him, and enabled the legion to return and fortify their camp. He and his chosen few still opposed the enemy, and prevented them from doing farther mischief. Josephus says, that if he may be allowed neither to add any thing out of flattery, nor to diminish any thing out of envy, but to speak the plain truth, Cæsar twice delivered that entire legion out of jeopardy. The moral he inculcates is, that the success of wars and the danger of kings are under the providence of

God. It is singular that he should call Titus both a *king* and *Cæsar*, while Vespasian was alive, and Titus no more than the emperor's son, and the general of the Roman army. Josephus probably considered him as associated in majesty with his father, in consequence of the dreams declaring them both kings, which the historian had recorded in book iii. chap. 2. We must remember here, that the Roman emperors never assumed that title; but the Jews gave it promiscuously, even to tetrarchs, as in the case of Archelaus in the New Testament. "But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judea in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither." — *Matthew*, chap. ii. "Pilate saith unto them, shall I crucify your king? The chief priest answered, We have no king but Cæsar." — *John*, chap. xix. So Peter states what Christianity requires on this subject: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well." — 1 *Pet.* chap. ii.

Titus always exhibited an anxious concern to save Jerusalem; and would have done so, had he not been overruled by the counsels of Providence for the fulfilment of prophecy. On the fifth day of the siege, when no signs of peace came from the Jews, he divided his legions and began to raise banks, both at the tower of Antonia*, and at John's Monument. But knowing that the preservation or destruction of the city would be his own gain or

* This tower of Antonia stood higher than the floor of the temple, or court adjoining; so that they descended thence into the temple.

loss, while he pursued the siege earnestly, he left no means untried to bring the Jews to a sense of their error, and mixed good counsel with military operations. The temple was the peculiar object of his care. He was deeply affected with its danger, for which he reproached John and his party bitterly. "Have you not, vile wretches as you are, put up this partition-wall before your sanctuary by our permission?" The wall of separation between Jews and gentiles, with its pillars and inscription, and all the other appurtenances of the temple, are fully described by the historian. "Have you not been permitted to erect pillars at due distances, and to engrave a prohibition on them in Greek, and in your own tongue, that no foreigner should go beyond that wall? If any do so, have we not given you leave to kill him, though he were a Roman? And what do you do now, pernicious caitiffs? Why do you trample on dead bodies in this temple? Why do you pollute it with the blood of foreigners, and even of your own Jews? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had regard to this place, which now seems to be disregarded by all of them; I appeal to my own army, to those Jews who are now with me, and even to yourselves, that I do not compel you to defile this sanctuary; and if you will but change the place of fighting, no Roman shall come near or offer any affront to it: nay, more, I will endeavour to preserve your holy house in spite of yourselves." It is clear therefore that these seditious Jews were the immediate instruments of their own destruction, and that the conflagration of their city and temple was, humanly speaking, the result of their own devices. Both

here and elsewhere, Josephus shows how earnest and constant were the endeavours of Titus to save both. On another occasion, he commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching of the legions. He then assembled the commanders, and consulted with them what should be done about the holy house. Some thought it would be best to demolish it, because the Jews were in the habit of assembling there, and would never abstain from rebellion while it was standing. Others gave it as their opinion, that it might be saved if the Jews would leave it, and not make it a depôt of arms: but if they persisted in making it the seat of war, it must be considered not as a temple, but as a citadel; and the impiety of burning it would be on the heads of those who should compel that measure. But Titus said, that although the Jews should fight from that holy house, we should not take vengeance on things inanimate, instead of the men themselves; nor would he vote for setting fire to so vast a work, because the mischief would recoil on the Romans, to whose government it would be highly ornamental. Fronto, Alexander, and Cerealis grew bold on this declaration, and agreed to the opinion of their general. The assembly was then dissolved, and Titus issued orders to the officers, that the rest of the forces should lie still, and the most courageous be selected for this attack.

Titus's speeches, on all occasions, to his troops, are highly animated. He considered that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hopes and fair words: that encouragement and promises make men forget their hazards, and sometimes even despise death. He begins an exhort-

ation to his army thus: — "My fellow-soldiers, to exhort men to what has no peril, is on that very account inglorious both to them and to the speaker, as it proves his cowardice as well as theirs." The speech is long, and exhibits throughout the notions the Romans had of death, and of their happy state who die bravely in war, contrasted with that of those who die ignobly in their beds by sickness. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks thus of the Alani: — "Judicatur ibi beatus, qui in prœlio profuderit animam: senescentes enim et fortuitis mortibus mundo digressos, ut degeneres et ignavos conviciis atrocibus insectantur: nec quidquam est quod clarius jactent, quam homine quolibet occiso: proque exuviis gloriosis, interfectorum avulsis capitibus detractas pelles pro phaleris jumentis accommodant bellatoriis. — Lib. xxxi. cap. 2. Strabo ascribes the same opinions to the Massagetæ, in his account of whom he abridges Herodotus. The whole passage is curious, and shows how superstitions reciprocally connect themselves: —

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιαῦτα περὶ τῶν Μασσαγετῶν· ὅτι καλοικοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ὄρη· τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν πεδία· οἱ δὲ ἕλη, ἃ ποιοῦσιν οἱ πολαμοί· οἱ δὲ, τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι νήσους· μάλιστα δὲ φασι τὸν Ἄραξον πολαμὸν καλακλύζειν τὴν χώραν πανλαχῆ σχιζόμενον· ἐκπίπλονλα δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ςόμασιν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην τὴν πρὸς ἄρκλοις θάλασσαν, ἑνὶ δὲ μόνῳ πρὸς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ὑρκάνιον· θεὸν δὲ ἥλιον μόνον ἡγοῦνλαι· τούτῳ δὲ ἱπποθυλοῦσι· γαμεῖ δ' ἕκας ος μίαν, χρῶνλαι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλων οὐκ ἀφανῶς· ὁ δὲ μιγνύμενος τῇ ἀλλοίρίᾳ, τὴν φαρέτραν ἐξαρίύσας ἐκ τῆς ἁμάξης φανερῶς μίγνυλαι· θάναλος δὲ νομίζεται παρ' αὐλοῖς ἄρις ος, ὅταν γηράσαντες κατακοπῶσι μεῖὰ τῶν προβαίείων κρεῶν, καὶ ἀναμὶξ βρωθώσι· τοὺς δὲ νόσῳ θανόνλας ῥίπλουσιν ὡς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀξίους ὑπὸ θηρίων βεβρῶσθαι· ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἱππόται καὶ πεζοί· τόξοις δὲ χρῶνται, καὶ μαχαίραις,

καὶ θώραξι, καὶ σαγάρεσι χαλκαῖς· ζῶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς εἰσι χρυσαῖ, καὶ διαδήματα ἐν ταῖς μάχαις· οἵ τε ἵπποι χρυσοχάλινοι, μασχαλιστῆρες δὲ χρυσοῖ· ἄργυρος δ' οὐ γίνεται παρ' αὐτοῖς, σίδηρος δ' ὀλίγος· χαλκὸς δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἄφθονος.—Lib. xi.

Plutarch, De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut Virtute, imputes similar sentiments and practices respecting death to the Sogdiani, the neighbours of the Massagetæ: —

Τὴν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδείαν ἂν ἐπιβλέπῃς, Τρκανοὺς γαμεῖν ἐπαίδευσε· καὶ γεωργεῖν ἐδίδαξεν Ἀραχωσίους· καὶ Σογδιανοὺς ἔπεισε πατέρας τρέφειν, καὶ μὴ φονεύειν· καὶ Πέρσας σέβεσθαι μητέρας, ἀλλὰ μὴ γαμεῖν.—Λόγος ά.

The religion of the Roman camp consisted almost entirely in worshipping and swearing by the ensigns. The Romans, accordingly, on the flight of the seditious into the city, and the burning of the holy house itself, brought their ensigns to the temple, and placed them opposite to its eastern gate. They offered sacrifices to them, received Titus with acclamations, and hailed him *Imperator*, as was their usual practice on any signal success, and the slaughter of many enemies. There were hiding-places, or secret chambers, about the holy house, the walls of which are supposed to be still traceable. On the fifth day after the above celebration, the priests found themselves compelled by hunger to abandon these retreats. They were brought to Titus by the guards, and pleaded for their lives: but he replied, that the period of pardon was past. It was only on the account of the temple that they could hope to be saved, and that was destroyed. It was part of the priestly office to perish with the house to which they were attached. He ordered them to be put to death. As for the Jewish tyrants, a bridge parted

them from Titus. The multitude stood on each side: those of the Jewish nation about Simon and John, in the hope of pardon; the Romans in curious expectation awaiting the reception of their prayer. Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their fury, and to let their darts alone. He then addressed a speech to them, through an interpreter appointed by himself, as a sign that he was the conqueror. He hoped that they were now satiated with the miseries of their country. They had no just notions either of the Roman power or of their own weakness; but with the rashness and violence of madmen, had brought their people, their city, and their temple to destruction by their attempts. He upbraided them with their ingratitude to the Romans, who had permitted the Jews by an especial privilege to collect their sacred tribute, and send it to Jerusalem.

On the arrival of Titus in the city, he admired its various places of strength, and especially the strong towers which the tyrants had so imprudently relinquished. When he saw their height, the size and solidity of the stones, the exactness of their joints, their breadth and length, he acknowledged that the conquest of the city was to be ascribed to God, who was his assistant in this war. He conceived that only God could have ejected the Jews from their strong holds; and that neither human hands, nor machines, the work of such hands, could have overthrown such towers. This was his language to his friends. His conduct was consistent with his usual generosity: he gave their liberty to those who had been left in bondage by the tyrants in the prisons.

He then thanked the army, and distributed

rewards. The list of all who had performed great exploits in the war was read. He called them to him by their names, commended them publicly, and seemed to rejoice as much in their prowess, as in his own.

But the celebration of his brother Domitian's birth-day, and that of his father, tarnished the honours of his usual clemency. He was at this time at Cæsarea; and considered the splendour of this solemnity as a fit occasion for inflicting the principal part of the punishment intended for the Jews. Some were slain in fighting with wild beasts, some in conflict with one another, and others were burnt. The number of those who perished in honour of this holiday exceeded two thousand five hundred. After this, he went to Berytus, a Roman colony, the coins of which are still extant. He next went to Antioch. The people were so delighted, that they could not keep within their walls; but advanced more than thirty furlongs to give him the meeting. They received him with acclamations, and besought him to expel the Jews from their city. He heard their petition patiently, but did not yield to their request. He did not stay at Antioch, but continued his progress immediately to Zeugma on the Euphrates, whither messengers came to him from Vologeses, king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold, on his victory over the Jews. He accepted this, entertained the messengers, and then returned to Antioch. He refused a second application against the Jews of Antioch, and permitted them to continue in the enjoyment of their former privileges. He then departed for Egypt. In the course of his progress he went to Jerusalem, and was greatly

moved at the sight of the ruins, and the remembrance of its ancient splendour. So far was he from boasting of his conquest, that he grieved over the ravages he had made. He cursed the authors of the revolt, who had brought such a punishment on the city. Such a calamity he did not consider as necessary to establish his own character for martial courage.

Josephus gives an account of his visit to the *sabbatic river*, in the course of his travels. It was once very famous: we need scarcely say it has disappeared. Instances of periodical fountains and rivers are not uncommon in modern geography; where they are generally found in such positions as to enable philosophy to account with some probability for their phenomena. But none of their periods are that of an exact week. They will probably for the most part depend either on ordinary tides, or on spring tides. According to Josephus, this river ran every seventh day, and rested on six: according to Pliny, it ran six days successively, and rested on the seventh: but it is to be observed, that in neither author is the seventh day of the river the sabbath of the Jews. After Titus's journey into Egypt, he passed over the desert very suddenly, and came to Alexandria. He then determined to go to Rome by sea. His father met and received him. The citizens made a splendid appearance, and conceived the greatest joy on seeing Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian, reunited. After a few days, they determined to have but one triumph, common to both. The senate had, indeed, decreed a separate triumph to each; but as their exploits were directed to the same object, they chose to mingle

glories, and present themselves conjointly to the eyes of the multitude.

But Titus, with all his virtue, was no Joseph. He seems to have caught the contagion of pleasure from his father. We may suppose that the blood of the *Absolutes* was always impatient; as we have some reason to believe that it still continues to be. The passions of Titus broke forth without restraint in his youth. One can only wish that Queen Berenice, of whose beauty he was enamoured in Palestine, had been more worthy of his affection. Her birth, and marriage to Herod, have been already mentioned. After his death she was married again to Polemon. On this Josephus remarks: — Οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ συνέμεινεν ὁ γάμος, ἀλλὰ Βερνίκη δι' ἀκόλασίαν, ὡς ἔφασαν, καταλείπει τὸν Πολέμωνα. — *Antiq. Jud.* lib. xx.

Ambition was evidently a considerable ingredient in her amours. She formed intrigues to set the crown on the head of Vespasian, from whom if he came to the empire, she had more to hope than from his competitors. We learn this from Tacitus. "Mox per occultos suorum nuntios excitus ab urbe Agrippa, ignaro adhuc Vitellio, celeri navigatione properaverat. Nec minore animo Regina Berenice partes juvabat, florens ætate formaque, et seni quoque Vespasiano magnificentia munerum grata." — *Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 81.

Agrippa and Berenice made their voyage to Rome in the fourth consulship of Vespasian, and in the 72d year of Christ. Josephus makes her to be sixteen when her father died, in the third year of the Emperor Claudius, and the 44th of Christ. She was therefore forty-four on her arrival. Xiphilinus, in the life of Vespasian, tells the story thus: —

Τοῖς δὲ Πάρθοις πολεμωθεῖσι πρὸς τινας, καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ συμμαχίας δεηθεῖσιν, οὐκ ἐβοήθησεν, εἰπὼν, ὅτι οὐ προσήκει αὐτῷ τὰ ἀλλότρια πολυπραγμονεῖν· Βερονίκη δὲ ἰσχυράς τε ἤνθει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἀγρίππα ἦλθε· καὶ ὁ μὲν στρατηγικῶν τιμῶν ἠξιώθη, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ὤκησε, καὶ τῷ Τίτῳ συνεγίγνετο. — *Epitome Dionis.*

Titus is supposed to have promised marriage. However that may be, the connection filled the city with discontent and popular clamour. That she was a princess of the Jewish nation probably rendered the public voice so loud against her. Her lover was not so abandoned to his passion, as to brave the rage of popular prejudice. He wisely resolved to sacrifice his private pleasures to political prudence, and the peace of the city.

Suetonius describes his mode of living at this time, and their reluctant parting, with a brevity and point which might well pass for Tacitus: — "Nec minus libido, propter exoletorum et spadonum greges, propterque insignem reginæ Berenices amorem, cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur. . . . . Berenicem statim ab urbe dimisit, invitus invitam." — *Titus.*

Aurelius Victor copies Suetonius almost verbally in his Epitome: — "Denique ut subiit pondus regium, Berenicem nuptias suas sperantem regredi domum, et enervatorum greges abire præcepit." He had said just before, "In quibus Cæcinam consularem adhibitum cœnæ, vix dum triclinio egressum, ob suspicionem stupratæ Berenices uxoris suæ, jugulari jussit." The substance of this passage also is taken from Suetonius, and will account for the carelessness of Aurelius Victor in calling her his wife and mistress in two passages nearly consecutive. In the first passage of Suetonius she is neither

mentioned nor alluded to; conspiracy, not adultery, being there laid as the ground of Aulus Cæcina's assassination. Aurelius Victor, for some reason or other, chose to relate the fact as given by Suetonius, but to assign a different motive, and make Berenice lavish of her favours. In this ungallant humour, he calls her the wife of Titus, either negligently, or to enhance her guilt: but when he comes to a passage where Suetonius states her actual condition with respect to the emperor, he gives the fact as it lay ready to his hand.

There is some little confusion as to the time of the divorce: whether under Vespasian, or after Titus had taken possession of the crown. Dion, or his epitomiser Xiphilinus, are supposed to place it in the former reign, contrary to the authorities of Suetonius and Aurelius Victor. But it will be found that Xiphilinus, though no other author does so, mentions Berenice's being twice sent away; once under Vespasian, and again under Titus: and this will, in the main, reconcile his account with the generally received winding-up of the intrigue. He relates the first dismissal immediately after the passage quoted above, and begins the reign of Titus thus: —Ὁ δὲ δὴ Τίτος οὐδὲν οὔτε φονικὸν, οὔτε ἐρωτικὸν μοναρχήσας ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς, καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθείς, καὶ σώφρων, καίτοι καὶ τῆς Βερονίκης ἐς Ῥώμην αὖθις ἐλθούσης, ἐγενέτο. This statement makes the second attack on Titus's affections ineffectual. The mode of their ultimate parting, as stated by other historians to have taken place when he was emperor, is too generally admitted to make it credible on a single authority, that he ever resisted her allurements when present: the probability is, that he dismissed

her, *invitus invitam*, during his father's reign, with a promise of recal in his own: that he kept that promise, but that the popular objection was too obstinate to render perseverance safe; for his excesses were always tempered by prudence: and that when he again determined to part with her, by way of softening the disappointment to both, he again threw out a hint of better times, and got rid of her by representing this separation as only temporary. But the biographers of the period, writing many lives with all practicable brevity, had no room to multiply identical incidents; they therefore related the beginning and the end of an adventure, and left the detail to be filled up by the sagacity or the imagination of the reader.

Pliny mentions a town bearing the name of Berenice: — "Berenice, oppidum matris Philadelphi nomine, ad quod iter a Copto diximus."—*Nat. Hist.* lib. vi. The inference from this passage, that Pliny concluded Ptolemy Philadelphus had built the city, because it bore his mother's name, is utterly unfounded. As there were several women of exalted rank who bore the name of Berenice, so were there several towns so called, probably in memory of the different princesses.

The farewells of Titus and Berenice have furnished the French stage with tragedies from Racine and Corneille, who were each employed by Henrietta of England on so unpromising a subject, unknown to each other. Corneille's piece failed: that of Racine had a run of thirty nights; and has been revived on the appearance of any new actor and actress capable of supporting characters of such great difficulty. So supported, it has always

been found affecting in representation. That one of these great poets should have failed, and the other have eminently succeeded, is accounted for by the opposite bent of their genius. That of the one is strong and elevated, that of the other gentle, dextrous, and elegant. The pathetic is the forte of the latter, the sublime of the former.

ON CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES.

Cæsar was confessedly the greatest general Rome ever produced; and the people of Rome were so renowned for their knowledge in the art of war, that it is equally interesting and useful to find their military customs traced out, and the individual actions of so accomplished a commander recorded, in Commentaries written by the hero of the story. Nothing in this work is more striking, than the consummate prudence and circumspection of this enterprising man, especially in relation to surprises. He was also particularly attentive to the safety of his convoys, and to the maintenance of a free communication with the countries whence he received his supplies. Nor was he less prudent and expert in turning alliances to account; as, for instance, in the case of that pretended one with the Æduans, which he made one of his principal engines to complete the reduction of Gaul. The suddenness, the rapidity, the disposition of his marches, have only been equalled by the Corsican of modern days in the zenith of his triumphs. From his narrative of his own movements when he besieged Gergovia, we may calculate that on one occasion he marched fifty miles in twenty-four hours. He exhibited great skill in marshalling his army in various forms, according to the information he was sedulous in

procuring, as to the greater or less distance of the enemy. His conduct in this respect was especially curious and judicious, when he marched against the Nervians. During his celebrated campaign in Spain he compelled a veteran army to surrender as prisoners of war, without striking a blow, by a happy choice of posts and consummate address in improving the advantages afforded by the nature of the country. Another object of solicitude was, to contrive his marches in such a manner as to station his camp near some navigable river, and to secure, as has been before mentioned, a country in his rear, whence he could be supplied easily, and at a reasonable rate, with every thing necessary for the subsistence of his army. Intrenched encampments formed an essential part of military discipline among the Romans; and Cæsar gave his sanction to the practice, by constantly following it in his wars with the Gauls. The *globus*, or circular order, was a disposition of which he speaks in his Commentaries, as highly advantageous in cases of danger and extremity: and the Duke of Wellington seems to have made arrangements analogous if not identical, on the field of Waterloo, while waiting for the arrival of the Prussians.

Pompey, in the decisive battle of Pharsalia, by the advice of Triarius, commanded his soldiers to receive Cæsar's assault, and to sustain the shock of his army, without removing from their position. His motive for this was the opinion, that Cæsar's men would be disordered in their advance; and that his own, by not moving, would retain their ranks undisturbed. On this system Cæsar remarks, that according to his own judgment, the advice was contrary to every principle of reason: for he

argues that there is a certain ardour and alacrity of spirit natural to every man when he goes into battle, which no commander should repress or restrain, but rather should increase and push it forward. The event fully justified the general criticism, and proved it to be well-grounded in practice, as well as warranted by speculation on human character. In this battle against Pompey, Cæsar not only took advantage of his antagonist's erroneous theory, but surprised him by material innovations on the Roman manner of embattling.

When Cæsar fought against Ariovistus and the Germans, he placed the best men in the wings of his army. This may, on the first blush, appear impolitic; as the centre is likely to give way: but in that case, the wings will wheel upon the enemy, encompass, and destroy the choicest men if placed in their main battle.

The ancient mode of fortification is well described by Cæsar, especially the walls of the city of Bourges, in the seventh book of his wars with the Gauls. He used the *musculus* at the siege of Marseilles. The planks of the roof were covered with bricks and mortar, over which hides were laid to prevent the mortar from dissolving by the water poured down upon it by the besieged. To secure it from stones and fire, it was again covered over with thick quilted mattresses properly prepared.

The *moving towers* were a peculiar feature of ancient warfare. When once they were brought up, a place seldom held out long. Those who had no ground of confidence but in the height of their ramparts, must sink at once into despair on seeing the enemy in possession of an elevation to command them. The people of Namur made a jest of

Cæsar's tower, while it was at a distance: but when it was seen moving rapidly towards them, they demanded to capitulate. Cæsar tells us that they believed it to be a prodigy; and were utterly astonished that men of ordinary size should think of carrying so vast and heavy a machine to their walls.

Cæsar was a master of circumvallation. That formed before Alesia consisted of fascines instead of turf, with its parapet and fraises made of large stakes, whose branches were cut in points, and burnt at the ends, like stags' horns. The battlements he mentions were like the modern embrasures for cannon. Cæsar's lines being very high, it was indispensibly necessary to have a platform with a slope, in the form of steps, to prevent the earth from falling away.

The following specimen of the author will best explain the ground enclosed between the two fosses, which is by far the most curious part of the blockade:—"Erat uno tempore et materiari et frumentari, et tantas munitiones fieri necesse, diminutis nostris copiis, quæ longius ab castris progrediebantur: et nonnunquam opera nostra Galli tentare, atque eruptionem ex oppido pluribus portis facere summa vi conabantur. Quare ad hæc rursus opera addendum Cæsar putavit, quo minore numero militum munitiones defendi possent. Itaque truncis arborum, aut admodum firmis ramis abscissis, atque horum dolabratis atque præacutis cacuminibus, perpetuæ fossæ quinos pedes altæ ducebantur. Huc illi stipites demissi, et ab infimo revincti ne revelli possent, ab ramis eminebant. Quini erant ordines conjuncti inter se atque implicati, quo qui intraverant, se ipsi acutissimis vallis induebant. . . . .

Ante hos, obliquis ordinibus in quincuncem dispositis, scrobes trium in altitudinem pedum fodiebantur, paullatim angustiore ad summum fastigio. Huc teretes stipites feminis crassitudine, ab summo præacuti et præusti, demittebantur; ita ut non amplius IV. digitis ex terra eminerent. Simul confirmandi et stabiliendi caussa singuli ab infimo solo pedes terra exculcabantur: reliqua pars scrobis ad occultandas insidias viminibus ac virgultis integebatur. Hujus generis octoni ordines ducti, ternos inter se pedes distabant. . . . Ante hæc taleæ pedem longæ, ferreis hamis infixis, totæ in terram infodiebantur; mediocribusque intermissis spatiis, omnibus locis disserebantur, quos Stimulos nominabant." The other line, to prevent succours from without, was exactly the same as this.

The most curious and remarkable sieges on ancient record are those of Platæa by the Lacedæmonians and Thebans; of Syracuse by the Athenians; of Lilybæum, Syracuse, Carthage, and Numantia by the Romans; but above all, that of Alesia by Julius Cæsar, and of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian. These two last are so circumstantially described in all their details, the former by Cæsar, who planned and conducted it; the latter by Josephus, who was an eye-witness of all that passed, that an attentive reader will find every thing worth knowing on the subject, and be qualified to form a clear and comprehensive judgment of the perfection attained by the ancients, and especially by the Romans, in this leading branch of the military art.

But the discovery of gunpowder has occasioned so entire a revolution in the art of war, that the interest felt in the perusal of these Commentaries

would be much lessened, unless in the estimation of military antiquaries, were it not that the narrative relates simply and unaffectedly, what the author himself performed at the head of his army.

Hirtius, in Præf. lib. viii. de Bello Gall. speaks thus respecting the execution of these works: — "Constat enim inter omnes, nihil tam operose ab aliis esse perfectum, quod non horum elegantia commentariorum superetur: qui sunt editi, ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus deesset; adeoque probantur omnium judicio, ut prærepta, non præbita facultas scriptoribus videatur."

The following is the character Cicero gives of them, in Bruto, cap. 75.: — "Atque etiam commentarios quosdam scripsit rerum suarum; valde quidem, inquit, probandos. Nudi enim sunt, recti, et venusti, omni ornatu orationis, tamquam veste, detracto. Sed dum voluit alios habere parata, unde sumerent, qui vellent scribere historiam: ineptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui volent illa calamistris inurere: sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit. Nihil enim est in historia pura et illustri brevitate dulcius."

But these opinions of Hirtius and Cicero respecting Cæsar's Commentaries, were not without dissentients of high rank in the critical world. Asinius Pollio thought them careless, and often untrue: and he considered this as accounted for in some cases, by credulity on Cæsar's part, when unfounded or exaggerated statements were made to him; in other cases, by his personal share in the transactions recorded, which led him to give, perhaps unconsciously, a false colouring to his own exploits, either from self-love or lapse of memory. The imputation thus conveyed by Pollio,

has been attributed to his jealousy as a contemporary author, and a member of the same profession, eclipsed by the glory of the great conqueror. But these censures seem unnecessarily ascribed to any sinister motive. Pollio tracked him throughout his whole career, as a captain, a historian, and an orator. An observer so acute, and so much in the secret, might become acquainted with many circumstances stated erroneously or even falsely by the author, for want of caution or the means of verifying them: he might have convicted him even of some fabulous narratives, and yet have left much for us to admire, much from which we may derive instruction.

It has been affirmed that Cæsar did not write the three books of the civil war, and even that Suetonius was the author of the seven books on the Gallic War. But Vossius has vindicated Cæsar's title to the authorship of the Commentaries, as they stand in the editions, though he does not vouch for his accuracy or veracity on all occasions.

There are few great works, of which literary envy and malignity have not endeavoured to despoil their authors. The testimony of ancient writers, the passages quoted by them from these Commentaries, leave Cæsar in full and unquestionable possession of his property in them. There may be faults in him as an author, there may be local corruption in the manuscripts: but the works have come down to us as genuine, and as worthy of our acceptance in point both of matter and style, as is consistent with the frailty of human nature when unassisted. The opinion that the extant Commentaries are not Cæsar's may possibly have arisen from a confusion of circumstances between two works. It is believed

that he wrote *Ephemerides*, containing a journal of his life; but they are lost. Servius has quoted a very remarkable circumstance from this lost work: —"Hoc de historia tractum est: namque Caius Julius Cæsar, cum dimicaret in Gallia, et ab hoste raptus, equo ejus portaretur armatus, occurrit quidam ex hostibus, qui eum nosset, et insultans ait, *Cæsar, Cæsar:* quod Gallorum lingua *dimitte* significat: et ita factum est ut dimitteretur. Hoc autem ipse Cæsar in Ephemeride sua dicit, ubi propriam commemorat felicitatem."—*In Æn.* lib. xi. ver. 743.

Plutarch, in Cæsare, quotes the Ephemerides; by which he probably meant the work referred to by Servius. It is true, the substance of the passage occurs in the fourth book of the Commentaries; but the same personal anecdotes must frequently have been told in both works. Had Plutarch not meant the Ephemerides, he would scarcely have adopted the term in preference to another in common use, signifying Commentaries. Thus Strabo: —Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκεν. — Lib. iv. *init.* T.

Frontinus relates many of Cæsar's stratagems not mentioned in the Commentaries; and must in all probability have read them in the Journal; the loss of which must be lamented by readers of every class, and especially by those who consider biography among the most interesting of studies, and find more to profit and delight in the history of the statesman's private mind, than in the official papers of his administration.

ON THE HISTORY OF JOSEPHUS. — ON HEROD, MARIAMNE, AND HEROD THE TETRARCH.

JOSEPHUS says at the end of his Antiquities of the Jews, that no person was so well qualified as himself, to deliver these accounts to the Greeks with accuracy. Those of his own nation freely acknowledged, that he far exceeded them in the learning belonging to Jews, to which he had taken much pains in adding that of the Greeks. Though his usual habit had been to speak his own tongue, he thoroughly understood the Greek language, but could not pronounce it with sufficient exactness. The Jews held an opinion, that there is no merit either in the acquisition of foreign languages, or in smoothness and elegance of composition. They looked on that kind of accomplishment as common, and easily acquired by slaves as well as by free men. At the end of this work, the author declares his intention, God willing, to give the public an abridgment of the Jewish war, and to carry the narrative down to the day on which he is writing, which is in the thirteenth year of Domitian, A. D. 93. It is not known whether he carried this project into execution. His motive probably was, to correct several mistakes in the first two books of the War, written in his youth, when he was comparatively an incompetent antiquary. Many passages occur in authors, avowedly quoted

from him, which are not now extant. They might possibly be contained in that compendium. Yet many of his references to works of his own, which have not come down to us, and many of his errors, belong to still earlier times. Neither he, nor any one else, ever quotes this abridgment. The probability therefore rather inclines against the publication. He wrote his own life as an Appendix to the Antiquities, more than seven years after they were finished; and this might perhaps supersede the other work. At the same time, he announces another intended treatise, in not less than three books, *concerning God and his essence*, and *concerning the Jewish laws, why, according to them, some things were permitted to the Jews, and others prohibited.* This last he had promised, should God afford him time for it, at the conclusion of his preface to the Antiquities. We have not much reason to believe that he ever published any of them. The death of his friends at court, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, the accession of Nerva and Trajan, with whom he had no personal acquaintance, his removal from Rome to Judea, with the subsequent course of events, might easily interrupt his progress as an author.

The great value of Josephus consists in the testimony borne by an opponent to many facts of Gospel history. It is stated in Scripture, that John the Baptist was beheaded by order of the younger Herod. Josephus confirms this: and mentions Herodias by name, as his brother's wife, whom Herod had married after divorcing his own. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petrean Arabians. Her husband was not dead when Herod took her. Aretas made war against

him on account of this dishonourable conduct. Herod's whole army was destroyed in a battle. His adultery might sufficiently account for the divine displeasure; but Josephus attributes it to his cruelty towards John. He also relates that Herod lost his kingdom, and was banished to Lyons with Herodias. He states in the eighteenth book, that many of the Jews considered this destruction as a judgment from God for the murder of a good man, who had taught them virtue in their actions, and piety in their sentiments. He then enters into a discussion on the efficacy of baptism to purification, externally in reference to the body, internally on the supposition that the soul is previously purified by righteousness, as preached by John. Herod is represented as fearing that his persuasive power might raise sedition; for the people seemed entirely at John's disposal. By way of prevention, Herod sent him a prisoner to the castle of Machærus, where he was put to death. Josephus goes on to speak of our Saviour: — "There was about this time one Jesus, a wise man, if he may be called a man; for he did marvellous works. He taught those who were willing to receive his doctrine, drawing over to him many, both Jews and Gentiles. He was the Christ."

Josephus is principally to be received as a witness against himself. The head and front of John's offending was the declaration, It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.

Josephus also relates, that Jerusalem was taken in the reign of Vespasian, forty years after the Jews had dared to put Jesus to death. James, bishop of Jerusalem, the brother of our Lord, was thrown down from the temple at the same time,

and slain by stoning. But the most striking admission on the part of the Jewish historian is, that when Pilate, instigated by the principal men among the Jews, had decreed that he who was the Christ should be crucified, those who had loved him from the beginning did not forsake him. He appeared to them alive the third day after his death, as the inspired prophets had foretold. The famous name of *Christians* taken from him, and the sect, are still in being.

Tacitus, in his History, lib. v. cap. 2–9., retails so many crude and contradictory stories relating to the original of Jerusalem, that one cannot but wonder his good sense did not revolt from such absurdities. For instance, he took the African Ethiopians under Cepheus, who are known to have been blacks, for the parents of the Jews, known to have been whites. Whenever he comes nearest to the truth, he gives a disguised version of Josephus. As thus: — "David first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it by his own name. Under our forefather Abraham it was called *Solyma*. Some say that after that time, Homer mentions it by that name of Solyma. Now the whole time from the warfare under Joshua our general, against the Canaanites, and from that war in which he overcame them and distributed the land among the Hebrews, this whole time was five hundred and fifteen years."—*Joseph. Antiq.* lib. vii. cap. 3. sect. 3. "Alii, Judæorum initia, Solymos, carminibus Homeri celebratam gentem, conditam urbem Hierosolyma nomine suo fecisse. Plurimi auctores consentiunt, orta per Ægyptum tabe, quæ corpora fœdaret, Regem Bocchorim, adito Hammonis oraculo, remedium petentem, purgare Regnum et

id genus hominum, ut invisum Deis, alias in terras avehere jussum."—*Tacitus, History of the Jews,* lib. v. cap. 2, 3. This latter doctrine is very different from that of Josephus, who truly observes on this occasion, that the gods are not angry at the imperfections of bodies, but at wicked practices. Tacitus represents Moses to have credit given to him, as *Duci cœlesti.* He therefore admits at least a profession on the part of Moses, that he received his laws from God. He relates, that Moses discovered a plentiful vein of water for the Jews. This he probably took from Josephus, who represents the relief as a miracle, Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 1. sect. 7. But if Tacitus suppresses one miracle, he substitutes another: for he states, that six hundred thousand men, to which number the Jews amounted, travelled above two hundred miles in six days, over the deserts of Arabia, and conquered Judea on the seventh.

The Israelites were to be kept separate from the idolatrous nations by circumcision and other ceremonies. This Tacitus represents as esteeming whatever is sacred among the Romans to be profane, and establishing what in other nations is unlawful and impure. The veneration said to have been paid in the Temple to the image of an ass, is refuted by Tacitus himself in the very next section: —"Igitur nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis, sinunt." Again, on occasion of Pompey's entry into the temple, after the conquest of Jerusalem: — "Inde vulgatum, nulla intus Deum effigie vacuam sedem et inania arcana." That the ox, worshipped in Egypt for the god Apis, was slain as a victim by the Jews, is a mere random guess, in the spirit of heathenism. He says, they

abstain altogether from the flesh of swine; and gives as a reason, that an animal, subject to the same leprous disease which infected their whole nation, is not deemed proper food. Now it is very unlikely that they should have perpetuated by an ordinance the memorial of an epidemic calamity, which must have rendered them odious to strangers, and subjected them to general scorn.

The Jews had originally but one solemn fast in the year; the day of expiation. The frequent fastings of the modern Pharisees probably led Tacitus to represent them so differently. So unleavened bread was used only at the Passover. He represents it as in general use.

Tacitus seems either not to know, what any Jew or any Christian could have told, or for some reason to dissemble his knowledge, that the seventh day and the seventh year of rest were instituted, to commemorate the rest of the Sabbath, after six days of creation. It is a most uncandid hypothesis, that the seventh year is devoted to repose, in consequence of their natural propensity to sloth. He seems never to have heard of their jubilee.

The disbelievers in real miracles are often entrapped into suppositions, which involve the belief of false or absurd ones. Suspecting that the sluggishness of the Jews may not sufficiently account for the Sabbatic institution, he gives the opinion of some antiquaries, that it was a ceremony in honour of Saturn. Now it happens, that the Greek and Roman denomination of Saturn's day for the seventh was not of very ancient standing: so that the Jews must, in the days of Moses, or long before, have prophetically anticipated that particular division of the week, before it took place: for it is very unlikely

that they should ever have heard of Saturn, either as a planet or as a god, till they adopted the idolatries of the neighbouring nations. That the sun, moon, or stars exercise any influence over human affairs, was not a Jewish, but a heathen opinion. Neither Jews nor Christians were allowed to meddle with astrology. Tacitus seems to have engaged deeply in it. He acknowledges the antiquity of Moses, and of his Jewish establishment. Many of the heathens were disinclined to own this. But he charges him with corrupt and impure institutions, without specifying them. He also accuses the Jews of nourishing a sullen hatred to the rest of mankind; but Josephus proves, that though his peculiar people, they considered God as the universal father. Tacitus indeed often commends them where they are faulty, and falsifies their merits. Some of the learned consider circumcision as derived from the Egyptians; but we know from the book of Genesis, that it was a token of the covenant. In one passage, Tacitus tells us, that they forget their parents, their brethren, and their children; in another, that their fidelity and kindness to one another are unalterable. How are these contradictions to be reconciled, unless he mean that the interests of the nearest kindred were not to interfere with implicit obedience to the divine command, as in the great instance of Abraham's sacrifice? Entire resignation is indeed the leading principle both of Jewish and Christian piety.

The custom of burying, instead of burning the dead, which Tacitus traces to the Egyptians, prevailed among the Hebrews, as early as the days of Abraham, long before the Israelites went into Egypt.

Tacitus, however, makes ample concessions to the piety of the Jewish nation, in the worship of one God, of infinite power, seen only with the mind's eye, and in the absolute condemnation of all idolatry, and every attempt to give a representation of the Deity, wrought into the human form with perishable materials. On this ground, he says, they refused to introduce the statues of the Cæsars into their temple. These important admissions were to be derived only from Josephus, and it is plain that Tacitus borrowed all that is valuable in his portrait of the Jews from him. Hence also he probably took the fact, that there was a vine wrought in gold in the front of their temple. From this, he says, some have inferred, that Bacchus was the object of their adoration. He admits, however, that the Jewish forms of worship have no conformity with the rites of Bacchus. The vine is indeed mentioned by Josephus as a magnificent ornament: but no mention is made either by him, or in any part of the Bible, of what Tacitus asserts, that the Jewish priests were crowned with ivy.

The chorography of Judea comes in naturally in Josephus, before Vespasian's first campaign. Tacitus seems to have formed his short abridgment from it. Both authors mention the richness and fertility of the soil: but Tacitus, not very consistently with that quality, says that rain is seldom seen. His account of Jordan, of its fountains derived from Mount Libanus, of the two lakes it runs through, and of its stoppage by the third, agrees in all points with Josephus. The last of these lakes he vaguely states to resemble a sea. Josephus gives its measurement; 580 furlongs long, 150 broad. Strabo says, that a man could

not sink into the water of this lake, so deep as the navel. Josephus does not say, that the slime, or bitumen, was cast out at a certain time of the year only; and Strabo directly states the contrary: Pliny agrees with Tacitus. Brotier quotes the authority of an eminent traveller in the East, affirming it to be thrown up on the surface of the waters during the autumn, probably from the places mentioned in the Bible. "All these were joined together in the vale of Siddim, which is the salt sea. . . . . And the vale of Siddim was full of slime pits; and the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, and fell there; and they that remained fled to the mountains."—*Genesis*, chap. xiv. This concretion, after floating for some time, is driven by the wind to the shore, where it is carefully collected by the Arabs for their own use and profit, after delivering a certain proportion to the Bassa of Jerusalem. Tacitus and Josephus agree that the cities burnt by fire from heaven were not exactly in the place where the lake now is, but only in its neighbourhood. But when Tacitus says that the Jews were of all slaves the most despicable, he deserts his best authority, and slanders them.

Both Josephus and Tacitus give a true account of the Jews, preliminary to the last war, the primary occasion of which arose out of the concourse of Jewish supplicants, but without arms, who came to Petronius, the president of Syria, to state their determination not to place Caius Cæsar's statue in the Temple. Tacitus is not quite accurate on this subject in his history; but in his annals, subsequently composed, he corrects his statements by the authority of Josephus. He is mistaken, how-

ever, in what he says about Cumanus and Felix. Cestius Gallus succeeded Petronius. Josephus says nothing of his death. Tacitus mentions it, but in the failure of his principal authority, without particulars. Josephus takes notice in general of the many omens, which predicted Vespasian's advancement to the empire, and distinctly adds a remarkable prophecy of his own to the same effect.

"Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum Imperii Alexandriæ cœptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui Kal. Jul. sacramento ejus legiones adegit. Isque primus Principatus dies in posterum celebratus, quamvis Judaicus exercitus v. Non. Jul. apud ipsum jurasset, eo ardore, ut ne Titus quidem filius expectaretur, Syria remeans, ut consiliorum inter Mucianum ac patrem nuntius."—*Historiarum*, lib. ii. cap. 79. This agrees with the History of Josephus, that Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor in Judea, where he then was, before he was so proclaimed at Alexandria. It requires, however, entirely to reconcile the Jewish and Roman historians, that the Nones, or perhaps the Ides of June should be substituted for the Nones of July in Tacitus and Suetonius. The interlacing of the months by their backward reckoning occasioned frequent confusion in dates.

The miraculous cures imputed to Vespasian are strongly attested by both parties. The prediction of Josephus, already mentioned, assumes Vespasian and Titus to be raised to the Roman empire, and to command against Judea and Jerusalem, not in the ordinary way of divine providence, but by especial interposition. The heathen oracle of Serapis confirmed the approbation of heaven. This was probably the first, and the only truth it ever told, further than as propitious auguries tend by

encouragement to their own fulfilment. It is not probable that this was merely either a lucky hit, or even a wise conjecture on the part of the oracle. All history concurs in the discredit into which these impostures fell from the time of our Saviour. It seems to have been the will of Providence, that these systematic retailers of falsehood and absurdity, these right-hand instruments of idolatrous theology, should once bear testimony to the truth before their final extinction. Their death was to point the moral, and adorn the tale of their vicious life. Josephus, also, standing as a boundary-stone between the heathen and the Christian, knowing the one true God, and a member of his first covenant, but not receiving, rather than rejecting his second, was evidently chosen as an instrument of divine operation. He was the most fit instrument.

According to an admitted maxim in philosophy, waste of power is defect of wisdom. The Deity never acts by strong means, when moderate will suffice; by preternatural means, when natural ones will produce the required effect; by remote means, when those which are competent are near at hand. Josephus met all occasions: he was almost the only Jew conversant with heathen learning, and therefore calculated to ingratiate himself, as he did, with the Roman generals. He, therefore, was selected, not like the Jewish prophets, for the permanent and exclusive service of God, but as the vehicle of occasional inspiration. We are not to look on his exercise of prophetic powers, as the mere ebullition of enthusiasm guessing right, or of personal arrogance, for his habitual modesty in speaking of himself is remarkable; but as a link

in the chain of means, by which our Saviour's touchstone prophecy of the almost immediate fall of Jerusalem was to be fulfilled. The object of that prophecy seems to have been principally, that his early converts might have some striking and notorious fact to appeal to, as a voucher for the truth of their belief.

All the acting parties in this history, heathen as well as Jewish, were the instruments of the Deity, independently of that influence which he exercises through the medium of his general providence. He might indeed have raised up any, the most obscure name among the Romans, to carry destruction against the Jews, as a divine judgment for their sins. But strictly defined moderation is a part of infinite wisdom. Vespasian and Titus stood exactly in such a situation as Romans, that their advancement to the empire, for the purpose of executing this signal military vengeance, was best calculated to arrest attention and impress awe, without bearing the external stamp of miracle.

We have already seen how difficult was the accomplishment of this enterprise in the hands even of such accomplished generals. It might, in truth, have been effected by a babe or a suckling; but the Deity does not make his wonders unnecessarily cheap among the heathen.

We have also seen how exactly Tacitus and Josephus agree in the personal character of Titus, and the description of his military array.

"Igitur castris, ubi diximus, ante mœnia Hierosolymorum positis, instructas legiones ostentavit." — Lib. v. cap. 10. Titus's first camp was near the Mount of Olives. The substance of the parallel passage in Josephus has been already given. Both

authors coincide as to the first bickerings and battles near the walls of Jerusalem, and as to the deliberations among the Romans, and their ultimate resolution, that it would not seem honourable to stay till the enemies were reduced by famine. They also give a concurrent description of the city, its two hills, its three walls, and four towers, as well as the pools for the preservation of rain-water. Josephus does not mention the cisterns, which Tacitus says they constructed in consequence of Pompey's siege.

Tacitus mentions, that they obtained permission by bribery, in the reign of Claudius, to rebuild their walls. Josephus says nothing of this; nor does he handle Claudius so severely, as do both Tacitus and Suetonius. Dio says, he was not covetous, though the other historians represent him as corrupt and venal. But Josephus might have been influenced to partiality by his kindness to the Jews. His learning, his quiet and unambitious temper, might have been a further recommendation. His deference to the counsels of so bad a minister as Pallas, and his mean subjection to his wife Agrippina, who at last poisoned him, have rendered him contemptible in the eyes of posterity.

The portents and prodigies have been already mentioned: but the passage in Tacitus is sufficiently striking to merit transcription: — "Pluribus persuasio fuerat, antiquis Sacerdotum litteris contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens profectique Judæa rerum potirentur. Quæ ambages Vespasianum ac Titum prædixerant. Sed vulgus, more humanæ cupidinis, sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur." — Lib. v. cap. 13.

Tacitus directly copies the testimony of Josephus concerning Christ and the Christians, given under the head of Titus. The fidelity, love of truth, and learning of Josephus are every where conspicuous; so that he may safely be trusted as an authority, not only on subjects immediately connected with the Jews, but on the affairs of foreigners.

He is also a very entertaining historian, on subjects not immediately connected with the interests of religion. Of this the History of Herod will furnish an example.

Cassius, on his flight from Rome, obtained possession of Syria, and checked the career of the Parthians, who had made incursions upon it after their victory over Crassus. As he came back to Tyre, he went up into Judea also, and fell upon Taricheæ. He soon took it, and carried about thirty thousand Jews into captivity. He slew Pitholaus, who succeeded Aristobulus in his seditious practices, and that by the persuasion of Antipater who had great interest with him. Antipater was also in great repute with the Idumeans. Out of that nation he married a woman of high birth among the Arabians, by name *Cypras*, not *Cypris*, the Greek name for Venus, as some critics propose to read. By her he had four sons, Phasael, and Herod, afterwards king; Joseph, and Pheroras; and a daughter, named *Salome*. Hyrcanus the second received the appointment of high-priest from Cæsar. As he was of an inactive temper, Antipater, as procurator of Judea, made his eldest son Phasael governor of Jerusalem, and of the adjoining places, but committed Galilee to his next son Herod, when he was about twenty-five years of age, as he must have been, if Herod's

age be rightly stated as seventy, at his death, forty-four years afterwards. His courage was soon signalised. Finding that one Hezekias, a captain of banditti, was over-running the neighbouring parts of Syria, he seized and slew him, with a great number of his band. This procured him the affection of the Syrians, who were anxious to be delivered from this scourge. They sang songs to his praise, in their villages and cities, for having procured them peace and security in their possessions. Thus he became known to Sextus Cæsar, a relation of Julius, and was made president of Syria. His brother Phasael grew jealous of all this, and determined to rival Herod's popularity in his own government of Jerusalem. But his emulation took an honourable turn; for he ingratiated himself with the inhabitants, and managed their business judiciously, without abusing his authority. In the mean time, it became known that Antipater had sent money, which he had prevailed on Hyrcanus to furnish, as a present to his imperial friends at Rome from himself. The chief men among the Jews were angry at this, and began to be afraid of Herod's boldness and violence, and its termination in actual tyranny. They went to Hyrcanus, and accused Antipater publicly, reproaching the high-priest for his indifference. They pointed out that Antipater and his sons had already usurped the government, and left nothing but the name of king to Hyrcanus. They cautioned him against wilful blindness, or a time-serving hope of avoiding danger by affected carelessness. Antipater and his offspring, who had been his stewards, were become his masters. Herod had slain Hezekias and his party, and thereby had trangressed the

law, which forbids the destruction of any man, however wicked, but in consequence of legal condemnation by the Sanhedrim. Yet he had done this without the authority of Hyrcanus. This latter charge refers to a provision in the law of Moses, that even in criminal causes, and especially where life was concerned, an appeal should lie from the lesser councils of seven in the other cities, to the supreme council of seventy-one at Jerusalem. In reference to this our Saviour says, "Nevertheless, I must walk to-day, and to-morrow, and the day following: for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem." — *Luke*, chap. xiii.

The mothers of those slain by Herod raised the indignation of Hyrcanus, by thronging the temple every day, and urging the king and people to put Herod on his trial before the Sanhedrim. Hyrcanus consented, and Herod obeyed the summons. His father persuaded him to come with a body-guard, and not as a private person. He advised him to arrange the affairs of Galilee to his own advantage, and then to set out with a body of men sufficient for his own security against his enemies, but not so numerous as to alarm Hyrcanus. Sextus Cæsar, president of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, desiring him, with threats in case of non-compliance, to procure Herod's acquittal. Hyrcanus, who loved Sextus sincerely, determined to comply with his demand. When Herod stood with his guards before the Sanhedrim, the whole assembly was terrified into silence, and his accusers shrunk from their charge. A righteous man, above all fear, whose name was Sameas, or *Simeon, the son of Shetach*, stood up and made the following speech: — "O you, that are assessors

with me, and O thou that art our king, never probably have ye known a parallel case; that one who is to take his trial from us ever stood so before us. Every one, be he who he may, that comes to be tried by this Sanhedrim, presents himself in a submissive manner, and like one that is in fear of himself. He endeavours to excite compassion, by appearing in a mourning garment, with his hair dishevelled. This Herod, who is called to answer the charge of murder, stands here clothed in purple, with his hair finely trimmed, with his armed men about him, that if he be condemned by our law, he may slay us, and by bearing down justice, escape death. Yet I make not this complaint against Herod himself, who is more dear to himself than are the laws. But my complaint is against you and your king, who give him this licence so to do. Yet take you notice, that God is great, and that this very man, whom you are going to acquit for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both him and yourselves."

Nor was Sameas mistaken in his prediction. On the accession of Herod to the kingdom, he slew Hyrcanus and all the members of this Sanhedrim, with the exception of Sameas himself, whom he held in high honour for his fearless integrity. Sameas had also purchased his forbearance, by persuading the people to admit Herod into the city, when he and Sosius besieged it. The motive of Sameas was to prevent the effusion of blood, as he was persuaded, that for their sins, they would not be able to save themselves out of his hands.

When Hyrcanus saw the effect of this harangue, and that the members of the Sanhedrim were suf-

ficiently spirited up to pronounce sentence of death, he put off the trial to another day, and privately advised Herod to escape out of the city.

Sextus sold the post of general of the Cœlesyrian army to Herod. Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod should make war upon him, which he soon did, in resentment of the trial he had been summoned to undergo before the Sanhedrim. But his father Antipater, and his brother Phasael, dissuaded him from assaulting Jerusalem. He the sooner yielded to their arguments, as he thought it sufficient for his future hopes to have merely displayed his strength before the nation.

He got into favour with Cassius and the Romans, by strictly exacting the required taxes from Galilee. He felt it prudent to cultivate their friendship at the expence of his countrymen, who were, however, saved by this apparent harshness. The curators of the other cities, with their citizens, were sold for slaves. Cassius reduced four cities to a state of slavery: the two most powerful were Gophna and Emmaus; the other two, Lydda and Thamna.

On the war between Cassius and Brutus on the one side, and Augustus Cæsar and Antony on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together an army out of Syria. As Herod was likely to be of much service in providing necessaries, they made him governor of all Syria, with an army of foot and horse. Antipater had recently saved Malichus, who afterwards murdered him. The power and hopes of Herod, whom the Roman generals had promised to make king of Judea, made Antipater the sacrifice to the wickedness of Malichus. This

man, alarmed at the increasing influence of the family, corrupted the butler of Hyrcanus to administer poison.

When Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasael, were acquainted with this conspiracy, they were violently incensed. Malichus disclaimed any knowledge of the murder. Herod resolved immediately to revenge his father's death, and was coming on Malichus with an army for that purpose. Phasael, the elder of Antipater's sons, thought it better to get this man into their hands by policy, and thus avoid the appearance of beginning a civil war in the country. On his own part, therefore, he accepted the denial, and affected to believe that Malichus had no hand in his father's death. He erected a splendid monument to Antipater. Herod went to Samaria, and finding them in great distress, he revived their spirits, and composed their differences.

At the feast of Pentecost, he returned to Jerusalem, after sending his armed men before him. Hyrcanus, at the request of the terrified Malichus, forbade foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, during the purification. Herod despised that subterfuge, and came in by night. Malichus came to him, and bewailed Antipater. Herod pretended to believe his lamentation real, though he had much difficulty to suppress his angry feelings. He wrote a melancholy letter to Cassius, who hated Malichus for other reasons. Cassius returned an answer, giving him authority to avenge his father's death, and sent private directions to the tribunes under him, to assist Herod in a righteous action he was undertaking. He put Malichus to death.

Herod ejected Antigonus out of Judea, and took from Marion what he had gained in Galilee. He dismissed the Tyrian garrison with civility, and made presents to some of the soldiers; but he bore no good will to the city. On his arrival at Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands about his head. He had already contracted an alliance with the family of Hyrcanus, by having espoused a descendant of his; and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as being to marry the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, by which wife he became the father of three male, and two female children. At this time, some principal men among the Jews, went into Bithynia, to accuse Phasael and Herod. They said that Hyrcanus was nominally king, but that these men had all the power. Antony paid great respect to Herod, who came to defend himself against his accusers. So entirely had Herod gained Antony's favour by bribery, that his opponents could not obtain a hearing. And here it is to be noticed, that whenever any party among the Jews gained the Romans to its side, or whenever any decree was obtained in their favour as a nation, all-powerful money purchased the restoration of the right, the grant of the privilege, or inclined the balance of partisanship. Josephus furnishes many examples of this in various parts of his history. All in authority, whether Romans or others, considered the Jews as peculiarly marked out for pillage: — "And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom." — *Acts*, chap. xxii. St. Paul's ancestors probably purchased the like freedom for their family by money.

Herod and his partisans were again accused by the most powerful of the Jews, to the number of a hundred. The most eloquent among them were commissioned to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, in presence of Hyrcanus, of whom Josephus speaks as Herod's father-in-law. In respect to this term, it is to be observed, that espousals alone were anciently esteemed a sufficient ground of affinity. Hyrcanus is called father-in-law to Herod, because his granddaughter Mariamne was betrothed to him, though the marriage was not completed till four years afterwards. Antony was then at Daphne, and heard both sides. He asked Hyrcanus, who governed the nation best? He replied, Herod and his friends. Hereupon Antony, on account of his reciprocal hospitality on the classical footing with Antipater, when he was with Gabinius, made Herod and Phasael tetrarchs, committed the public concerns of the Jews to their care, and wrote letters of confirmation. He bound fifteen of their opponents, and was going to kill them; but Herod interceded for their pardon. It has been before observed, that Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him. He therefore gave orders to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors who were given to innovation, and to settle the government upon Herod, who went out to them in haste, with Hyrcanus, for they were standing on the shore before the city. He charged them to depart, denouncing much mischief if they proceeded with their accusation. But his warning was vain. Consequently, the Romans ran upon them with their daggers, slaying some, and wounding more: the rest ran home and

hid themselves, in great consternation. When the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so enraged at it that he slew the prisoners.

Herod had much difficulty in escaping the snares of the Parthians. The butler, who in those days seems to have been synonymous with the murderer, was sent against Herod. He had it in command to get him beyond the walls of the city, and to seize upon him. But messengers had been sent by Phasael to inform Herod of the Parthian treachery. When he knew that the enemy had seized on him and Hyrcanus, he went to Pacorus, and to the most powerful of the Parthians, as to the lords of the rest. They dissembled their knowledge of the affair, and asked him to go out with them before the walls, and meet those who were bringing him his letters; for they were not taken by his adversaries, but were coming to give him an account of the good success Phasael had met with. Herod did not credit what they said, for he had heard that his brother was seized upon by others also. The grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, whom he had espoused, also warned him not to credit them. This made him still more suspicious of the Parthians; for though other people esteemed her but lightly, he held her to be a woman of great wisdom. Now as Pacorus and his friends were considering how they might bring their plot to bear privately, because it was not possible to succeed against a man of so great prudence by an open attack, Herod was much disturbed in mind, and more disposed to believe the reports he heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to give heed to what was said on the other side. He therefore determined, that as night came on, he

would make use of it for his flight, taking with him the persons most nearly related to him, without their enemies being apprised of it, and not make any longer delay, as if the danger were still uncertain. His mind was superior to the fear natural to so hazardous a condition, and his courage increased with his difficulties. As he passed along he cheered his companions, and entreated them not to abandon themselves to sorrow, as it would destroy the only hope they had in flight. Malchus, king of Arabia, refused to receive him, but soon repented, and came after him, but without success. Herod had advanced into the road to Pelusium; and when the stationary ships there hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to their captains, who had great reverence and regard for him. By their assistance he was conducted into the city of Alexandria, and retained there by Cleopatra. Yet she was not able to prevail with him to stop, because he was hurrying to Rome, notwithstanding the stormy weather; for he was informed that the state of Italy was very tumultuous, and its affairs in great disorder. Cleopatra had hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces, in the expedition she was planning, but he rejected her solicitations. He landed at Brundusium, or Brentesium, or Βρενδησίων as it stands on some coins.

Antony felt compassion for the reverses of Herod's fortunes. Reflecting that this was the common fate of those who are placed in high stations, and that they are liable to sudden changes, he was ready to give him the assistance he desired. He called to mind how hospitably he had been treated by Antipater, and Herod's extraordinary virtue in

having formerly bribed him for the office of tetrarch, and now repeating the application to be made king of the Jews. The contest he was now engaged in with Antigonus, and his hatred to him as a seditious person, and an enemy to the Romans, were of no less weight than his regard for Herod. Cæsar was still better inclined to forward Herod's advancement, and to assist him in his designs, as remembering the toils of war he had shared with his father Antipater in Egypt, the hospitable treatment and peculiar kindness he had received from him, and the activity he saw in Herod himself. He wished also to gratify Antony's zeal for Herod. He therefore called the senate together. Messala first, and afterwards Atratinus, produced Herod before them, enlarged on the benefits they had received from his father, and reminded them of the son's good will to the Romans. The senate was moved by these reasons, and irritated at the Parthian treachery. Antony then came in, and proved to them how much it was for their advantage in the Parthian war, that Herod should be king. They all voted for it accordingly. When the senate adjourned, Antony and Cæsar went out, with Herod between them. The consul and the other magistrates went before them to offer sacrifice, and to deposit the decree in the Capitol. Antony made a feast for Herod on the first day of his reign.

The chronology of Herod, both as to the time when he was first made king at Rome, and the time when he began his second reign without a competitor, on the conquest and slaughter of Antigonus, is principally derived from the last three

chapters of the fourteenth book of Josephus's Antiquities of the Jews.

Herod, on quitting Italy, sailed to Ptolemais, where he assembled a considerable army, both of strangers and of his own countrymen, and marched through Galilee against Antigonus. Silo and Ventidius came to his assistance on the persuasion of Dellius, who was sent by Antony to assist in bringing Herod back. Herod's army increased every day as he advanced, and Galilee, with a few exceptions, joined him. His first object was to save those who were besieged in the fortress of Massada, because they were his relations. But it was necessary to remove the obstacle of Joppa, a city at variance with him, that no strong hold might be left in the enemy's possession when he should go to Jerusalem. When Silo made this a pretence for rising up from Jerusalem, and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, put the Jews to flight, and saved Silo when he was very little able to defend himself. After this Herod took Joppa, and then made haste to rescue those of his family who were in Massada. Herod had now a strong army. As he marched on, Antigonus prepared ambuscades in the passes and other places best adapted for them; but they did little mischief to those against whom they were planned. Thus Herod delivered his family out of Massada, and the fortress Bessa, and then went on for Jerusalem. The soldiery with Silo, and many of the citizens who were afraid of his power, accompanied him. As soon as he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the soldiers on guard there shot their arrows, and threw their darts at him. Great numbers made a

sally, and fought with the first ranks of Herod's army hand to hand. He ordered proclamation to be made about the wall, That he came for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city; not to revenge himself on even his most inveterate enemies, but with the desire to forget their most grievous offences. Antigonus, in reply to Herod's proclamation, said before the Romans and before Silo, That they would not do justly if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was no more than a private man, and an Idumean, or half Jew. This assertion of Antigonus, made in the days of Herod, and almost to his face, carries much greater authority than the pretences of his favourite and flatterer, Nicolaus of Damascus, that he derived his pedigree from Jews as far backward as the Babylonish captivity. Josephus always esteems him an Idumean, though he affirms his father Antipater to be of the same people with the Jews, and a Jew by birth. But the Idumeans were in time considered as identified with the Jews.

Herod was not fond of lying still. He sent out his brother Joseph against Idumea with two thousand armed footmen, and four hundred horsemen, while he himself went to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there; for they had already departed from Massada. He then went into Galilee to take certain places held by the garrisons of Antigonus, and passed into Sepphoris; as God sent a snow, while the garrisons of Antigonus withdrew themselves, and had great plenty of provisions. He had now brought over to him all Galilee, excepting the inhabitants of the caves, and distributed money to all his soldiers, to the amount of a hundred and fifty drachmæ apiece, with much

larger sums to their captains, and sent them into winter quarters. At this time Silo came to him again, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would no longer pay his treachery, having supplied his people with provisions for no more than one month. More than that, he had sent to all the country round, and ordered them to carry off their provisions, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might perish by famine. But Herod committed the care of the supplies to his younger brother Pheroras, and commanded him to repair Alexandrium.

Antony was now staying some time at Athens, and Ventidius, who was in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him first to assist Herod in finishing the present war, and then to send for their confederates for the war they were themselves engaged in. Herod went in haste against the robbers in the caves, and sent Silo to Ventidius while he marched against them. One old man was caught within one of these caves, with a wife and seven children, who were earnest to go out, and surrender to the enemy: but he stood at the mouth of the cave, and slew every child who attempted a passage, till he had destroyed them all. He then killed his wife, and threw the dead bodies down the precipice, and himself after them, preferring death to slavery. Before this final act of despair, he reproached Herod scornfully with the meanness of his family, notwithstanding his adventitious royalty. Herod wishing to prevent the execution of his rash design, stretched out his hand, and offered him assurances that his life should be safe. All the caves were at length entirely reduced.

Herod joined his troops with those of Antony

at the siege of Samosata, and was received with great honour. His post was in the rear. On one occasion, when the first ranks had passed, an ambuscade, to the number of about five hundred, fell suddenly on them, and put the foremost to flight. The king, with the forces about him, came riding hard and immediately drove back the enemy. Thus he so emboldened his own men to go on, that those who ran away before returned, and the barbarians were slain on all sides. The king followed up the carnage, and recovered all the baggage, with many beasts of burden and slaves. He then proceeded on his march. Many of those who had attacked them had got into the woods, near the passage that led into the plain. On these he made a sally with a strong body of men, put them to flight, slew several, and rendered the way safe for those that were to come after, who considered him as their saviour and protector.

On his arrival at Daphne, near Antioch, messengers came to inform him that his brother Joseph was slain in Judea. This was not unexpected; as his dreams, or as he conceived, visions, had clearly foreshown his brother's death. In the course of his subsequent campaign, on one occasion his soldiers got on the tops of houses which were full of enemies, pulled up the upper floors, and destroyed the people beneath. This must have been effected by ladders from the outside. It appears from several texts in the New Testament, that this was no uncommon mode of ascending on ordinary occasions.

The generals at the siege of Jerusalem were two: Sosius, sent by Antony to assist Herod, and Herod on his own account, to take the government from

Antigonus, who had been declared an enemy at Rome, that he might himself be king, according to the decree of the senate. Josephus fully and frequently assures us, that above three years passed between Herod's first obtaining the kingdom at Rome, and a second time on the taking of Jerusalem and the death of Antigonus. The history of the interval twice mentions the army as going into winter quarters. This may be supposed to belong to two several winters, though he says nothing of the time they lay in those quarters. But he describes the long and studied delays of Ventidius, Silo, and Macheras, who were sent to see Herod settled in his new kingdom, but seem not to have had sufficient forces for the purpose: besides which, it is clear that they were all corrupted by Antigonus. He also gives us such particular accounts of Herod's many exploits during the same interval, as fairly imply that interval, before Herod went to Samosata, to have been very considerable. We know from other sources, that Tigranes, then king of Armenia, and the principal manager of this Parthian war, reigned two years after Herod was made king at Rome. Antony did not hear of his death, in that very neighbourhood, at Samosata, till he was come thither to besiege it. After this Herod marched an army three hundred and forty miles, through a difficult country, full of enemies, and joined with him in the siege of Samosata till its capture. Herod and Sosius then marched back with their large armies the same number of miles. When, a little time afterwards, they sat down before Jerusalem, they could not take it by a siege of less than five months. All this put together, satisfactorily supplies what is wanting in Josephus,

and establishes the chronology of those times beyond the reach of contradiction.

With respect to Herod's marriage with the celebrated Mariamne, the daughter of Alexandra, the first engagement took place, after he had been fighting against Antigonus and his party in the avenues of Judea. He was conqueror in a pitched battle, and drove Antigonus away. He then returned to Jerusalem, beloved by every body, for this glorious action. Those who before had not been favourable to him, united themselves with him now, on account of his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus. He had formerly married a woman of his own country, by name *Doris*, of no ignoble blood, by whom he had Antipater. He now married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus. By this marriage he became related to the king. But the marriage was not finally solemnised till a short time after the death of his brother Joseph, who was slain by Pappus, the general for Antigonus. This Pappus was killed in battle. Herod had his head cut off, and sent it in savage triumph to his brother Pheroras. This was in the third year after he had been made king at Rome. At the close of the winter he marched to Jerusalem, and brought his army under its walls. He pitched his camp before the Temple, as the only practicable side for besieging it. It was there that Pompey took the city.

When the war about Actium was begun, Herod prepared to come to Antony's assistance. He was already delivered from his troubles in Judea, and had gained Hyrcania, held by the sister of Antigonus. But the cunning of Cleopatra hindered

him from sharing in Antony's hazards. She had laid a plot against the kings of Judea and Arabia. She therefore prevailed with Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod. If he were victorious, she might become mistress of Arabia: if he were defeated, Judea might be hers. Thus she hoped to play these kings off against each other, and to destroy one of them. But this contrivance tended to Herod's advantage. At the very first he took hostages from the enemy, and got together a great body of horse. He ordered them to march against the forces in the neighbourhood of Diospolis, and conquered that army, although it fought resolutely against him. When Herod came to Kanatha, he endeavoured to manage this war with particular prudence. He gave orders for a wall to be built about their camp. The multitude did not comply with his directions. They were so emboldened by their recent victory, that they immediately attacked the Arabians, and defeated them at the first onset. They then pursued them; but snares were laid for Herod in that pursuit. Athenio, one of Cleopatra's generals, and always Herod's opponent, sent the men of that country out of Kanatha against him. On this fresh onset, the Arabians regained their courage, and returned. The two parties joined their numerous forces about stony places, that rendered the passage difficult, and there put Herod's men to the rout. The slaughter was great; but those who escaped out of the battle fled to Ormiza, where the Arabians surrounded their camp, and took it with all the men it contained. This great defeat of his army, and his own consequent distress, with a great earth-

quake in Judea, seem to have produced the same effect on Herod, as times of affliction bring about with most men: that of making them at least temporarily religious. There is no other instance mentioned in Josephus, but this under peculiar discouragement, largely as he speaks of Herod and in minute detail, of his ever thinking to supplicate the Deity with sacrifices. But before he went out to his next battle with the Arabians, he offered the sacrifices appointed by the law. He then without delay led the Jews against the Arabians, passing over Jordan, and pitching his camp near that of the enemy. Nor was he disappointed in his hopes on this occasion. The Jews felt highly encouraged. Herod then observing that the hostile army was utterly disinclined to an engagement, ventured boldly to attempt their bulwark, and to pull it to pieces, that he might get nearer to their camp and fight them. Being thus forced from their trenches, they went out in disorder, without alacrity or the hope of victory. Yet being more in number than the Jews, they fought hand-to-hand. Indeed their military position was such, that they were obliged to put a good face on the necessity of fighting. The battle was terrible, and not a few fell on both sides. It ended in a signal victory over the Arabians, who had so lately been the conquerors. The earthquake in Judea, also, had so raised their insolence, that they presumed to put the Jewish ambassadors to death. Now all was consternation, and they with difficulty screwed up their courage to the sticking-place.

Herod's mind was soon after this disturbed by the state of affairs at Rome, and jealousy of Hyrcanus. An occasion of venting his malignity soon

occurred. Hyrcanus was at all times mild in his temper. He had no desire to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations. He was contented with whatever fortune afforded him. But his daughter Alexandra was a lover of strife, and very desirous of a change in the government. She therefore urged her father not to bear for ever Herod's injurious treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might. She desired him to write to Malchus, then governor of Arabia, to receive and secure them from Herod. If they were to go away, and Herod's interests to fail in consequence of Cæsar's enmity, they would then be the only persons capable of assuming the government, on account of their royal birth and popularity with the multitude. Hyrcanus resisted her suit: but she was a woman, and a contentious woman too. She pursued her object day and night; and by dwelling on Herod's treacherous designs, prevailed with him to intrust his friend Dositheus with a letter, declaring his resolution. He desired the Arabian governor to send some horsemen, for the purpose of conducting him to the lake Asphaltites, 300 furlongs distant from the boundaries of Jerusalem. He consigned this letter to Dositheus, as an assiduous attendant on himself and Alexandra, and because he had many motives for hostility to Herod, for having slain his kinsman Joseph. He was also brother to some persons formerly slain at Tyre by Antony. But his resentment on these accounts was not strong enough to secure his fidelity to Hyrcanus. He preferred an interest with the present king to remote prospects with a presumptive one, and gave Herod the letter, who immediately sent for

Hyrcanus, and questioned him about his league with Malchus. On his denying it, he showed the letter to the sanhedrim, and put him to death instantly. Josephus gives this account from Herod's own Commentaries; but states that other historians tell a different tale. They suppose that Herod did not find, but make this occasion, by laying an insidious snare. According to them, Herod and Hyrcanus were once at an entertainment, when Herod put the question to the latter, without appearing to be displeased, whether he had received any letters from Malchus? The answer was, that he had received letters, but only of common-place civility. The question was again put, whether he had not received presents? On his reply, that he had only received four riding-horses from Malchus, Herod charged this upon him as corruption and treason, and gave immediate orders for his execution. The historians urge the mildness of his temper as an argument of his innocence. In his youth he had exhibited neither temerity nor boldness. When he came to be king, he committed the management of public business to Antipater. He was now above fourscore years old, and knew Herod's government to be stable. Besides this, he came over the Euphrates, leaving his faithful adherents on the other side of that river, and putting himself entirely in Herod's power. They consider it as incredible that he should so depart from his usual character, or form any enterprise for the purpose of innovation. The inference is, that this was a plot of Herod's own contrivance.

As soon as Hyrcanus was out of the way, Herod hastened to Cæsar. He could not entertain hopes

of kindness from him, on account of his friendship with Antony. He suspected Alexandra of taking this opportunity to produce a revolt among the multitude, and foster sedition. He therefore committed the affairs of the kingdom to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother Cypras and his sister Salome, and the whole family at Massada, giving him charge to take care of the government, if he should hear any bad tidings of himself. Mutual misunderstanding prevented his wife Mariamne from living with his sister and his mother. He therefore placed her at Alexandrium with her own mother Alexandra, and left his treasurer Joseph, and Sohemus of Iturea, to take care of that fortress. Herod was confirmed in his kingdom by Cæsar, partly in consequence of Quintus Didius having written word, that he was willing to assist in an affair of gladiators.

Herod had five children by Mariamne; two daughters and three sons. The youngest of the sons was educated at Rome, and died there. He treated the two eldest as of royal blood, on account of their mother's noble rank, and their birth after he was king. His love for Mariamne was very strong, and increased from day to day. He considered all his other anxieties as compensated by the possession of her. But she returned his affection with consummate hatred. In this part of the story, Josephus is inconsistent. In one place he represents her as reproaching Herod with the murder of her father Alexander, as well as her brother Aristobulus: in another, he gives the received story, that he caused her grandfather Hyrcanus to be slain, not her father Alexander. If we may be allowed to read *grandfather* for *father*, the name

neither of Alexander nor Hyrcanus being mentioned, Josephus's accuracy and consistency will be vindicated.

The dominions of Herod were now enlarged, and he became more magnificent. He conducted Cæsar as far as Antioch after their interview. In proportion as his prosperity was augmented by foreign acquisitions, his family distresses increased on his return. They arose chiefly from his wife, in whom he had hitherto considered himself as most fortunate; nor could any husband exceed him in affection. But she upbraided his mother and sister openly with the meanness of their birth, and spoke of them with unkindness. These bickerings between the women were of long standing; but their hatred at length broke out into mutual reproaches in public, not unaccompanied with suspicious hints. This lasted a whole year after Herod's return from Cæsar, though for some time decency had been in a great degree preserved. The storm burst all at once. The king was one day resting on his bed at noon, when his fondness induced him to call for Mariamne. The ebullitions of her wayward temper offended him, and he was on the point of using violence to her. His sister Salome, noticing that he was more than ordinarily disturbed, sent the king's cup-bearer in to him precipitately, according to a design long in preparation. She bid him tell the king, how Mariamne had persuaded him to assist her in preparing a love-potion for him. He went in and told his story with a sufficient degree of composure to gain credit, yet with an affectation of hurry. Finding the king moved, he said that the love-potion she had mixed was a composition, whose effects he was not acquainted with: he

determined therefore to give this information, as the safest course he could adopt both for himself and for the king. Herod was in ill-humour, and his anger grew more violent. He ordered Mariamne's most faithful eunuch to be put to the torture about this potion, because it was not possible for any thing to be done without his knowledge. The most acute agonies could extort nothing from the man on the subject in question: but he said, that Mariamne hated Herod in consequence of some suggestion on the part of Sohemus. Herod cried aloud, that Sohemus, having been at all other times faithful to him and to his government, would not have betrayed his secrets but in more intimate conversation than ordinary with Mariamne. He gave orders that Sohemus should be seized, and slain immediately. He allowed his wife to take her trial: but got together his most attached people, and laid an elaborate information against her for this love-potion and suspicious composition, the charge concerning which was a mere calumny. The court, seeing the bent of his mind, passed sentence of death; but he and some others suggested that she should only be imprisoned in one of the fortresses. Salome and her party laboured hard for immediate execution, using prudential arguments to the king, lest the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live. The sentence therefore was carried into effect. Alexandra, on seeing this, felt how little hope there was that she herself should escape the like treatment from Herod. She therefore recovered her former boldness. To show her ignorance of the crimes charged against Mariamne, she indecently reproached her daughter in the

hearing of all the people. She accused her of being a bad woman, ungrateful to her husband, and justly punished for her insolent behaviour, and unsuitable returns to their common benefactor. She acted this hypocritical part for some time, and carried her outrage so far as to tear her hair. This occurred at the scaffold. Both the spectators and the victim were shocked at such dissimulation. The daughter looked at her, but uttered not a word, and seemed to feel nothing on her own account. But the nobleness of her mind discovered itself in her manifest concern for her mother's self-exposure. She then proceeded to her death with unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing colour. Her last moments were worthy of her descent. In her life she had been distinguished for chastity and magnanimity. Her fault was want of moderation, and a contentious temper. Her beauty was great, and her appearance majestic. The stern dignity of her character prevented her from proving so agreeable to the king, or living so pleasantly with him, as she might have done. His indulgence and fondness were unbounded; and this sometimes led her to try him beyond bearing, and produced unexpected harshness on his part.

After this time Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient constitution, by the introduction of foreign customs. That constitution ought to have been inviolate. When the religious observances which were wont to inspire the multitude with piety were neglected, wickedness generally prevailed. He appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year in honour of Cæsar, built a theatre at Jerusalem, and

a large amphitheatre in the plain. In the theatre he instituted magnificent plays and shows, *thymelici*, which were music meetings, and chariot races, where the chariots were drawn by two, three, or four pair of horses. The sober Jews looked on these as heathenish sports, tending to corrupt the morals of their nation, to bring them into contact with Pagan idolatry and manners. They condemned them as tending to the immediate dissolution of the Mosaic law. Our modern masquerades, plays, operas, with other pomps and vanities of the world, are as mercilessly, but with less reason, censured by a certain class of Christian enthusiasts. The Jews were to be separated from the world; we constitute it.

A mob took this matter up offensively: but Herod got clear of the multitude, and allayed the violence of their passion. The greatest part of the people were disposed to change their conduct, and not to be displeased with him any longer. Still the resentment of some was unabated, for his introduction of new practices. They foreboded the origin of great mischief from the violation of the laws, and considered themselves as called upon by piety to hazard their own lives, rather than seem to acquiesce in such a change of government, and the violent introduction of foreign habits. They represented Herod as a king only in pretence, but in reality an enemy to their whole nation. On this account, ten citizens of Jerusalem conspired, and bound themselves to each other by oath, to undergo any dangers in their attempt. They armed themselves with daggers under their garments, for the purpose of killing Herod. Among the conspirators there was a blind man, who

became a great encourager of the rest, through indignation at what he had only heard of. He was incapable of affording them personal assistance, but anxious to share their hazards and risk their sufferings.

With this common resolve, they went into the theatre, in the hope that Herod himself could not escape them, as they meant to fall on him unexpectedly. But if they missed him, they were likely to kill many of his attendants. They determined to do this, should they die for it; by way of reading a lesson to the king, on the injuries he had done the multitude. The conspirators thus prepared, went about their design with alacrity. But one of Herod's spies, appointed to hunt out conspiracies, discovered this, and told the king of it, just as he was going into the theatre. The citizens did execution on the informer. Herod made a strict scrutiny, and put many to severe torture: but he would never have discovered the perpetrators of the assassination, had not certain women in their agonies confessed what they had seen. The authors of the fact were terribly punished by the king, and their families destroyed for this rash attempt. Herod was not rendered more mild by the obstinacy of the people, and their constancy in defence of their laws. To prevent his innovations from producing open rebellion, he determined to encompass the multitude on every side.

He now married again. One *Simon*, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of one Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there, had a daughter, esteemed the most beautiful woman of her time. The people of Jerusalem spoke loudly

in her praise. Herod was much moved by what he heard of her; and when he saw the damsel, was smitten with her beauty. But he entertained no design of using his authority to abuse her, justly believing, that he should so be stigmatised with violence and tyranny. He determined therefore to make her his wife.

In the time of a great famine, he thought it politic to use his utmost endeavours in assisting his people. He cut off the rich furniture of his palace, both silver and gold, without sparing his finest, and most elaborately chased vessels. The money so raised was sent to Petronius, prefect of Egypt, appointed by Cæsar, to whom several had fled in their necessities. This person was Herod's particular friend, and anxious to preserve his subjects. He gave them leave to export corn, which he assisted them in purchasing. He was indeed the principal, if not the only person, who gave them any help. Herod took care the people should understand, that this assistance came from himself. He thus removed their past ill opinion, and proved his regard and care of them. He distributed portions of corn with the utmost exactness to such as were able to provide their own food. The bakers were commissioned to make their bread ready for the aged, the infirm, and the poor.

All Herod's designs had now succeeded according to his hopes; nor had he the least suspicion that any troubles could arise in his kingdom. He was implacable in the infliction of his punishments, and so retained the people in obedience by the influence of fear. Yet he had displayed the most provident care of them, and behaved in the most

magnanimous manner in their distresses, and thus earned, notwithstanding his tyranny, the title of Herod the Great. But he took further measures for external security, and raised a moral fortress for his government, against his subjects. His orations to the cities were eloquent, and full of benevolent sentiments. He cultivated a politic understanding with their governors, and purchased the friendship of each by seasonable presents. He thus secured his kingdom by the magnificence of his temper, while his resources were continually increasing. Yet his real disposition was tyrannical and extravagant, and displayed itself with least reserve in his Grecian cities. In the cities of the Jews, even he was obliged to be cautious in introducing plays, shows, and idolatrous temples, in consequence of a still subsisting zeal for the laws of Moses.

Dean Prideaux, in his excellent Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, has an admirable reflection on ambition, in reference to Pompey and Cæsar, which is applicable to tyrants of all ages and countries. "One of them could not bear an equal, nor the other a superior: And through this ambitious humour and thirst after more power in these two men, the whole Roman empire being divided into two opposite factions, there was produced hereby the most destructive war that ever afflicted it. And the like folly too much reigns in all other places. Could about thirty men be persuaded to live at home in peace, without enterprizing upon the rights of each other for the vain glory of conquest, and the enlargement of power, the whole world might be at quiet; but their ambition, their follies,

and their humour leading them constantly to encroach upon, and quarrel with each other, they involve all that are under them in the mischiefs hereof, and many thousands are they which yearly perish by it: so that it may almost raise a doubt, whether the benefit which the world receives from government, be sufficient to make amends for the calamities which it suffers from the follies, mistakes, and male-administrations of those that manage it."—Part ii. book 7.

Among Herod's other public works, he built Cæsarea. To rectify the inconvenience of an exposure to the south wind, he laid out such a compass towards the land as might be sufficient for a haven, where ships might lie in safety. This he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathom deep. Some were less, but others exceeded those dimensions. He also built a theatre of stone, and on the south quarter, behind the port, a very capacious amphitheatre, with an agreeable prospect towards the sea. In one passage, the rebuilding and decoration of Cæsarea is stated to have occupied twelve years, in another, ten. The true number cannot now probably be determined; nor is the point of the slightest importance.

While Herod was thus employed, and after he had rebuilt Sebaste, the Greek name for Samaria, he determined on sending his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, that they might profit by Cæsar's company. On their arrival they lived at the house of Pollio; not the Pharisee twice mentioned by Josephus, but Asinius Pollio the Roman, who was much attached to Herod. They had leave

even to lodge in Cæsar's own palace; for he received them with great kindness, and allowed Herod to give his kingdom to whichever of his sons he pleased. He also bestowed Trachon, Batanea, and Auranitis, on him on the following occasion. One Zenodorus, a famous robber in that country, mentioned by Strabo, had hired what was called the house of Lysanias. Not being satisfied with its revenues, he entered into partnership with the robbers inhabiting the Trachones, and thus procured for himself a larger income. The inhabitants of those districts led an irregular life, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes. Zenodorus did not restrain them, but shared the booty. When these transactions were laid before Cæsar, he directed Varro to destroy those haunts of banditti, and give the land to Herod, that by his care the neighbourhood might no longer be disturbed. These habits of robbery had been so long in use, that it was not easy to restrain them. Having neither city nor lands of their own, but only some retreats and caves, where they and their cattle lived in common, they had no other means of subsistence. But they had made contrivances to get pools of water, constructed granaries for corn, and were capable of a fierce resistance, by sudden sallies against invaders. The entrances of their subterranean dens also were too narrow for more than one to enter at a time, and the interior very large and wide. The ground over their dwellings was not very high, but rather on a plain. The rocks were difficult of access, and the proper road scarcely to be found without a guide, on account of its intricacy. When Herod had received this grant from Cæsar, he procured experienced guides, ar-

rested the robbers in their career, and restored the peaceable inhabitants of the neighbourhood to quiet.

When Herod had reigned seventeen years, Cæsar came into Syria. At this time the inhabitants of Gadara were almost universally clamorous against Herod for the severity of his injunctions and his tyranny. They were encouraged in these complaints by Zenodorus, who swore he would never desist till he had separated them from Herod's kingdom, and united them to Cæsar's province. The Gadarens became the more bold, because those who had been delivered up by Agrippa had not been punished by Herod, but dismissed without harm. It was a strong peculiarity in Herod's character, that he was inexorably severe in his inflictions on the criminals of his own family, but generous in remitting the offences of strangers. While they accused Herod of injuries, of robbery, and of sacrilege, he stood unconcerned, and ready to enter on his defence. Cæsar gave him his right hand, and abated not his kindness on this disturbance from the multitude. These allegations were brought forward on the first day, but the hearing proceeded no further. The Gadarens saw the temper of Cæsar and his assessors, and naturally expected to be delivered up to the king. So great was their dread of torture, that some cut their own throats in the night, others threw themselves down precipices, and others cast themselves into the river. This self-destruction was taken as self-condemnation of their rashness, and the crimes they had committed. Cæsar lost no time in publicly acquitting Herod. Another lucky accident at this time contributed to aggrandise Herod. Ze-

nodorus died of hæmorrhage, at Antioch in Syria. Cæsar bestowed his country, of considerable extent, on Herod. It lay between Trachon and Galilee, containing Ulatha, Paneas, and the adjoining country. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that nothing should be done without his approbation. In short, he arrived at such a height of prosperity, that at a time when there were but two men who governed the vast Roman empire, first, Cæsar, and then his principal favourite Agrippa, Cæsar preferred no one but Agrippa to Herod; and Agrippa entertained more friendship for Herod than for any one but Cæsar.

The rebuilding of the temple is attended with many difficulties. Herod is stated to have taken away the old foundations, and to have laid others on which he erected the temple, being in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which twenty, upon the sinking of their foundations, fell down. Some architects have supposed Josephus to mean, that the entire foundations of the holy house sunk to the depth of no less than twenty cubits. This is impossible, when we consider that the temple stood on a rocky mountain. Neither the expression nor the subject is very clear; but we must suppose that the foundations which sunk were those of the additional twenty cubits only; or rather, as in modern architecture we do not comprehend the laying of second foundations on a superstructure already erected, that the cubits themselves above the hundred fell down in consequence of being made purposely weak not to be too heavy for the building, and merely for show and grandeur.

Agrippa's preparation for building the minor parts of the temple twenty cubits higher, men-

tioned by Josephus in another passage, must in all probability refer to this accident, as he says, in the passage now under consideration, that what had fallen down in Herod's time they resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now it was under Nero that Agrippa made his preparation. Josephus is not unfrequently obscure, from inaccuracy of expression, which is naturally to be expected from a person writing in a foreign language. A little farther on he calls Solomon the first king of the Jews. It appears from other passages, in which he is more careful, that he meant no more than that he was the first of David's posterity, and the first builder of the temple.

It was in the sixteenth year of his reign that Herod rebuilt the temple, and encompassed a piece of land about it with a wall, which land was twice as large as that before enclosed.

After many family quarrels, Herod was reconciled to his sons by the feeling conduct of Alexander, on his trial for treason against Cæsar, on the accusation of Antipater. The young man could scarcely speak for grief: but though he was in danger, both from the craft of his half-brother and the rash folly of Herod, he modestly avoided laying any imputation on his father, but with great force of reasoning refuted the calumnies vented against himself. He demonstrated the innocence of his own brother, who was involved in the same danger. He then bewailed the malice and treachery of Antipater, and the disgrace he had brought on the whole family. But this reinstatement of family good understanding endured not; for Antipater by his flatteries could make Herod do what he pleased. His influence could prevail even when that of

his sister Salome was ineffectual. To her, indeed, he ultimately behaved with much harshness. Cæsar's wife, Julia, had inspired her with a strong inclination to marry Sylleus the Arabian, and she applied with earnestness to Herod for his consent. He swore he would esteem her as his bitterest enemy, unless she would give up that project. Not content with this, he married her, against her own will, to his friend Alexas, and made one of her daughters marry the son of Alexas, and the other he gave to Antipater's uncle by the mother's side. But there was no end to these family feuds. Pheroras was obstinate in retaining his wife, a woman of low family, and refused to marry one nearly related to Herod, though he so earnestly desired it. That wife's admission to the counsels of the principal ladies about the court is not easily to be reconciled with Herod's open importunity as to the divorce of Pheroras, and his subsequent marriage. The most plausible account to be given of this, as represented by Josephus, is by presuming Pheroras's belief, and Herod's suspicion, that the prediction of the Pharisees would prove true. The purport of it was, that the crown of Judea should be translated from Herod to the posterity of Pheroras: he probably believed, and Herod feared, that the posterity signified was to descend from his actual, and not from a future wife. In debating this question, Herod told Pheroras he would give him his choice of two things; to be on good terms with himself as a brother, or with his wife. Pheroras answered, he would rather die than forsake his wife. Herod knew not what more to do. He directed his speech to Antipater, and charged him to have no intercourse either with the wife of Phe-

roras, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her. Antipater did not disobey that injunction publicly: but he went in secret to their nocturnal meeting. Being afraid that Salome watched his proceedings, he procured leave, by means of his Italian friends, to go and live at Rome. Those friends wrote word that it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Cæsar for some time. Herod dismissed him without delay, splendidly attended, with a large sum of money, and gave him his will to carry, containing the bequest of the kingdom to Antipater, and appointing Herod for Antipater's successor. The Herod here meant by Josephus is not Herod the tetrarch, but the son of Mariamne, the high-priest Simon's daughter.

Herod soon after this laboured under the complicated evils of a severe distemper, old age, and a melancholy state of mind. He was already almost seventy years of age, and had been prematurely weighed down by the calamities he had sustained respecting his children. His life was attended with no pleasure, even when in health. He was grieved that Antipater, whose character had been fully developed since his return from Rome, was still alive. This aggravated his disease; and he resolved to put him to death, though not suddenly or rashly. He determined that as soon as he should be well again, his execution should take place publicly. It did so; and his own death immediately ensued. He survived the slaughter of his son only five days.

Herod had reigned thirty-four years since the time when he procured the death of Antigonus, and obtained his kingdom: thirty-seven years since he had been made king by the Romans. At his funeral there was a bier entirely of gold, em-

broidered with precious stones, and a purple bed of various contexture, with the dead body on it, covered with purple. A diadem was set on his head, and a crown of gold above it, a sceptre in his right hand. Herod's sons were near the bier, and a great number of his kindred. Next to them came his guards, and the regiment of Thracians. The Germans were there, and the Gauls, all accoutred as if they were going to war. The rest of the army took precedence, armed, and following their captains and officers with military regularity. After them, five hundred of his domestic servants and freed-men followed with sweet spices in their hands. The body was carried two hundred furlongs, to Herodium, where he had given his own directions to be buried.

There are few characters in biography which furnish more abundance or variety of incident, more scope for political and moral reflection, than this of Herod. But his life was so active, and his turns of fortune, both domestic and public, so frequent, that it is impossible within the compass of an essay like this, to do more than to make a selection of events and characteristic anecdotes, from the long and detailed narrative of Josephus.

Herod the tetrarch was the son of Herod the Great. When Cyrenius had disposed of Archelaus's money, and when the taxation was concluded, which was made in the thirty-seventh year after Cæsar's victory over Antony at Actium, Joazar was deprived of the high-priesthood, a dignity conferred upon him by the multitude. Ananus the son of Seth was appointed high-priest. Herod-Antipas and Philip had each of them received their own tetrarchy, and had established their af-

fairs on a permanent footing. The ethnarchy of Archelaus, another son of Herod, brother of Philip and Antipas, had fallen into a Roman province. When Salome died, she bequeathed both her toparchy and Jamnia, besides her plantation of palm-trees in Phasaelis, to Julia, the wife of Augustus. When the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years six months and two days, both Herod and Philip remained in their tetrarchies. The latter built the city of Cæsarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Paneas; besides the city Julias, in the lower Gaulanitis. Herod built the city of Tiberias in Galilee, and another also called Julias in Perea beyond Jordan. It is on the accession of Tiberias to the empire, that Josephus inserts that famous testimony concerning Jesus Christ. In a homily also, having just mentioned Christ, as God the Word, and the Judge of the World, appointed by the Father, he adds, that he had himself spoken elsewhere about him more nicely or particularly.

After terms of peace had been agreed upon between Artabanus and Vitellius, Herod the tetrarch erected a rich tent on the temporary bridge over the Euphrates, and made a feast there. After this Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon. Herod, desirous of giving Cæsar the first intimation that they had obtained hostages, sent couriers with letters, leaving nothing for the consular Vitellius to tell. For on the arrival of his letters, Tiberius let him know that he was acquainted with the whole transaction already. Vitellius was much troubled at this, conceiving himself a greater sufferer by the anticipation than he really

was. He therefore cherished a secret anger, waiting for revenge, which he took after Caius had succeeded to the government. Soon after this time, a quarrel took place between Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, and Herod, on the following occasion. Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while. Once, when he was at Rome, he lodged with Herod, his brother, but not by the same mother. This Herod was the son of the high-priest Simon's daughter, and seems to have had the additional name of *Philip*, as Antipas was named *Herod-Antipas*. Antipas and Antipater have the appearance of being the very same name; yet two sons of Herod the Great bore those names. So might Philip the tetrarch and this Herod-Philip be two different sons of the same father. It was not Philip the tetrarch, but this Herod-Philip, whose wife Herod the tetrarch had married in her first husband's life-time, and that, although that first husband had issue by her. For this adulterous and incestuous marriage John the Baptist justly reproved Herod the tetrarch. For this reproof Salome, the daughter of Herodias, by her first husband Herod-Philip, who was still alive, occasioned him to be unjustly beheaded. This last Herod's wife, with whom the tetrarch fell in love, was the daughter of their brother Aristobulus, and the sister of Agrippa the Great. The tetrarch ventured to talk to her about marriage. She allowed of his addresses. An agreement was made that she should change her residence, and come to him as soon as he should return from Rome. One article of the contract was, that he should divorce the daughter of Aretas. Antipas, when he had made this bargain, sailed

to Rome, transacted his business, and returned. His wife had discovered the transaction with Herodias; but her husband was not aware that she was acquainted with the whole design. She desired him to send her to Machærus, a place on the borders of Aretas and Herod's dominions, carefully concealing her own intentions. Herod accordingly complied with his wife's request on the supposition of her ignorance. But she had sent some time before to Machærus, as being under her father's government. All things necessary for her journey were got in readiness by the general of Aretas's army. Thus she soon reached Arabia, under the conduct of the several generals, who carried her from one to another successively, so that she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod's projects. This was the first occasion of quarrel between Aretas and Herod, though the latter had some variance with the former about their limits in the country of Gemalitis. They raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, sending their generals to fight instead of themselves. When they had joined battle, Herod's whole army was destroyed by the treachery of some fugitives, who though they were of Philip's tetrarchy, had joined Herod's army. Herod wrote on these subjects to Tiberius, who was very angry at the attempt of Aretas. He authorised Vitellius to make war upon him, and either to take him alive and bring him in bonds, or to kill him and send his head. Some of the Jews considered the destruction of Herod's army as a just judgment from God, for his proceeding against John surnamed the *Baptist*. Josephus here bears testimony to him whom Herod slew, as a good man, recommending virtue, righteousness,

and piety, through baptism. The great popularity of this preacher alarmed Herod, lest the people should enable him to raise a rebellion. He therefore gladly embraced an opportunity of putting him to death, lest he should fall into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of his forbearance. He was accordingly sent a prisoner to the before-mentioned castle of Machærus, and there put to death. The Jews naturally entertained an opinion that the loss of the army was a punishment on Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure.

Herodias, Agrippa's sister, lived as wife to Herod the tetrarch of Galilee and Perea. She felt envious at the great authority of her brother when she saw a greater dignity bestowed on him than on her husband. Her brother had absconded from inability to pay his debts. He was now come back, in the high road to dignity and good fortune. She urged to Herod, that though he formerly was not concerned to be in a lower condition than his father, the author of his birth, he should now aim at the dignity to which his kinsman had arrived. She told him not to endure the contempt, that a man who had admired his riches, should be in greater honour than himself. He must not suffer Agrippa's poverty to purchase greater things than their abundance. It would be shameful to stand lower than one who, the other day, lived on the charity of his family.

These arguments had their effect on his corrupt mind, and produced those mutual family machinations so common in those times and countries. On the accession of Caius, he released Agrippa, who had been in bonds, and gave the tetrarchy of

Philip, who was now dead. When Agrippa had arrived at that dignity, he kindled the ambition of his brother tetrarch, who was chiefly induced to hope for the royal authority by his wife Herodias.* She reproached him for his sloth, and said it was only because he would not pay his personal compliments to the new Cæsar, that he was not raised to that high dignity. Cæsar had made Agrippa king from a private station. Much more would he advance him from a tetrarchy to that rank. Herod complied, and went to Caius, who punished him for his ambition, by banishing him into Spain. Agrippa had followed him to prefer an accusation. Caius added this tetrarchy also to Agrippa's previous honours. Herod died in Spain, whither his wife had followed him.

* Delrius, in his Disquisitiones Magicæ, states that Herodias was sometimes identified with the fairy queen. The term the learned Jesuit applies to her is *saltatricula:* and he gravely argues against the abominable heresy of believing that she any longer leads choral dances on earth. This is second only to the absurdity of the romance writers, who make Mercury the prince of the fairies; and in *Orfeo and Heurodis*, convert the Grecian story of Orpheus and Eurydice into a Gothic tale, graciously conferring on Heurodis the kingdom of Winchester, the ancient name of which was Thrace! Orpheus's father was descended from King Pluto, and his mother from King Juno. The tale ends melodramatically, and not tragically. Orpheus does not act so like a blockhead as in the Greek version: he makes his escape good, and they both reign safe and sound at Winchester. The history of John the Baptist was considered by our ancestors as altogether mysterious, and gave rise to a great number of superstitious practices on St. John's Eve, particularly that of fern-seed, alluded to by Shakspeare in Henry IV.: — "We have the receipt of fern-seed; we walk invisible."

ON THE CHARACTER OF MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

When Porsena, king of Clusium in Etruria, was besieging Rome, provisions became exceedingly scarce and dear in that city. This partisan of the Tarquins entertained hopes, that by converting the siege into a blockade, he should become master of the town. Caius Mucius, a noble youth, was filled with indignation, to think that the Roman people while in bondage under their kings, should never have been besieged by an enemy in any war, and yet that the same people, now in a state of freedom, were blockaded by those very Etrurians whose armies they had often routed. He resolved therefore, by some great and daring effort, to remove such reproach. Livy says, "Primo sua sponte penetrare in hostium castra constituit. dein metuens, ne, si consulum injussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, *fortuna tum nobis crimen adfirmante, senatum adiit.* 'Transire Tiberim,' inquit, 'Patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo; non prædo, nec populationum in vicem ultor. majus, si Dii juvant, in animo est facinus.' *Adprobant Patres:* abdito intra vestem ferro, proficiscitur." * The passages marked in italics

* Lib. ii. cap. 12.

show, that in stating this extraordinary fact, so much the admiration of schoolboys, Livy is sensible that the action itself was criminal, and that the condition to which the city of Rome was reduced, was the only apology for the baseness of assassination. We must, with our superior lights, say that no distress, no approbation even of a Roman senate, no specious gloss of the historian, can justify the morality of such a proceeding.

It was now the second year after the expulsion of the kings. Porsena considered Rome as already sufficiently reduced to admit of their restoration. He was celebrating a sacrifice, to propitiate the gods in favour of that event: Mucius could not venture to enquire which was Porsena, lest his not knowing the king should discover him to be a stranger. He was therefore obliged to trust to fortune and probability. A secretary was close to the king, in the act of paying the soldiers, whose attention therefore was more immediately directed to him. Porsena himself rather seemed to be performing the duties of a priest. This probably led Mucius to mistake the secretary for the king, so that he killed him instead of the intended victim. When brought before the king's tribunal, he stood there single, among a crowd of enemies. Even in this situation, deserted by fortune and threatened with the severest tortures, he declared himself to be a Roman citizen; his name Caius Mucius. He seemed in fact more capable of alarming the invader, than of feeling terror in his own person. He says to him, "Proinde in hoc discrimen, si juvat adcingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo; ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiæ. Hoc tibi juventus Romana indicimus

bellum. Nullam aciem, nullum prælium timueris. Uni tibi, et cum singulis res erit. Quum rex, simul ira infensus, periculoque conterritus, circumdari ignes minitabundus juberet, nisi expromeret propere, quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages jaceret: '*En tibi,*' *inquit,* '*ut sentias, quam vile corpus sit iis, qui magnam gloriam vident:*' dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo injicit. quam quum velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo; prope adtonitus miraculo rex, quum ab sede sua prosiluisset, amoverique ab altaribus juvenem jussisset, 'Tu vero abi,' inquit, 'in te magis, quam in me hostilia ausus.'"

For the purpose of fixing the admiration on the proper point of this story, and at the same time to do Livy justice, it must be remarked, that the fortitude here displayed, and that of the passive kind, is the part of Scævola's conduct proposed as an example, and the only part to be adopted in spirit, by those who have occasion to show their resolution, under circumstances less shocking and incredible. I say incredible; and it is remarkable that Dionysius has omitted this part of the romantic scene, described by Livy with so much ostentation. He simply imputes to Mucius the politic contrivance of inventing the story of the three hundred youths to save himself. His character in the Greek historian does indeed descend from its heroics. But according to Livy, whose narrative is best known and most popular, Porsena finishes his address by saying, "I dismiss you untouched and unhurt; and discharge you from the penalties which by the laws of war I have a right to inflict." Mucius felt inclined to make some return for this act of favour, and spoke to him thus: — "Since I

find you disposed to honour bravery, you shall obtain from me by kindness what threats could not extort. Know then, that three hundred of us, the principal youths in Rome, have bound ourselves to each other by an oath, to attack you in this manner. My lot happened to be first. The others will be with you, each in his turn, as the lot may place him foremost, until fortune shall furnish an opportunity of succeeding against you."

Mucius was then dismissed, and was followed to Rome by ambassadors from Porsena. The king had been deeply affected, not only by the action, but by the asseveration, that Rome possessed many such resolute devotees. He had before experienced the existence of a similar spirit. Horatius Cocles, Horace with the Single-eye, had alone stopped the same Porsena from passing the Sublician bridge, till it was broken down behind him. Though wounded, he swam across the river to his friends. He was lame ever after: but he used to say, that every step he took gave him joy of his triumph. The occasion of the peace also converted Porsena's anger into admiration. He spoke of Clœlia's exploit as superior even to those of Cocles and Mucius. He therefore proposed the following alternative. Should the hostage not be given up, he would consider the treaty as broken off; should she be surrendered, he would send her back to her friends in safety.

There is something very noble in the character of Porsena. His engagement with the Tarquins, and natural predilection in favour of royalty, placed him in the wrong: but he was open to conviction; and the extraordinary accidents which had happened to himself gave him an opportunity

of extricating himself with a good grace, and of leaving that liberty to the Romans, which they knew so well how to defend.

The loss of his right hand by burning procured for Mucius, or Mutius, the surname of Scævola, the Left-handed. We see here, in the case of Horatius Cocles, and in a thousand others, that the Roman surnames ran much on personal peculiarities or defects, as in the case of Cicero.

The senate gave a tract of ground on the other side of the Tiber to Caius Mucius, as a reward of his valour. These lands were afterwards called the Mucian meadows. The honour thus paid to courage seems to have excited even the other sex to merit public distinctions, which were so amply given to Cloelia.

Martial has two epigrams on this subject. The first is in lib. i. : —

DE PORSENA ET MUCIO SCÆVOLA.

Cum peteret regem, decepta satellite, dextra
Ingessit sacris se peritura focis.
Sed tam sæva pius miracula non tulit hostis,
Et raptum flammis jussit abire virum.
Urere quam potuit contemto Mucius igne,
Hunc spectare manum Porsena non potuit.
Major deceptæ fama est et gloria dextræ:
Si non errasset, fecerat illa minus.

The other is in lib. x. The point of it is not so obvious as in the former : —

DE MUCIO.

In matutina nuper spectatus arena
Mucius, imposuit qui sua membra focis,
Si patiens fortisque tibi durusque videtur,
Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.

Nam, cum dicatur, tunica præsente molesta,
Ure manum; plus est dicere, Non facio.

It is to be understood that Martial was no friend to violence, and least of all to self-violence. He was not ambitious to think *with the sages of Abdera*, a city of Thrace, whose very air was thought to teem with stupidity or madness. He therefore pronounces it less bold spontaneously to burn a limb, than to refuse to do so: especially where the torturing *tunic*, lined with various combustibles, must be expected as the immediate consequence. The last word of the epigram, which the elliptic idiom of the Latin language uses in the sense of sacrificing, has given rise to the conjecture that Martial alludes to some Christian criminal, admired even by enemies, and placed on a higher pinnacle of self-devotion than Mucius, for refusing *facere*, to offer incense to the heathen deities. At all events, the drift is philosophical, in raising passive above active courage.

ON CICERO.

THERE is no work of more universal acceptance, from the time of its publication down to this period, than Dr. Middleton's History of Cicero's Life, which is, in fact, the history of Cicero's times. Nor could it be otherwise. From the first advancement of that eminent man to public magistracies, there was not any thing of moment transacted in the state, in which he did not bear an eminent part. From the very time of his birth, the crisis of the Roman affairs was preparing; and for sixty years, the events which passed in succession were the most important, the characters of the persons who conducted, or were affected by them, the most dignified and interesting to be met with in the annals of Rome, or perhaps of the world.

Dr. Middleton had an honourable object in view; to rescue the character of Cicero from the obloquy cast on it by the writers who curried favour in the court of the emperors by misrepresenting the characters and motives of all the great patriots. Thus Dio opens his forty-fourth book in the following manner: —

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ ταυθ' οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἔπραξεν· ὁ δὲ τισὶν ἀλιθηριώδης, φθόνῳ τε τοῦ προσήκοντος, καὶ μίσει τοῦ προτετιμημένου σφῶν, προσπεσὼν, ἐκεινόν,

τε ἀνόμως ἀπέκλεινε, καινὸν ἀνοσίου δόξης ὄνομα προσλαβών, καὶ τὰ ψηφισθέντα διεσκέδασε· σάσεις τε αὖθις ἐξ ὁμονοίας, καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρεσκεύασεν.

The opposition of Dio's character and principles to those of the republican party is evident throughout his work, and so clearly to be accounted for, that his testimony becomes of none effect. He flourished under the most tyrannical of the emperors, by whom he was advanced to great dignity. He was the creature of despotic power, and endeavoured to prove his gratitude by blasting every name connected with the interests of patriotism. The writings of Cicero, if allowed their fair influence, were likely to revive the ancient zeal and spirit of liberty, so long the peculiar characteristic of the Romans. The entire bearing of Dio's history is to establish the preference of absolute monarchy, rather than a free government on the principles of democracy, as most in unison with the interests of the Roman state.

The character of Cicero, as a moral writer, cannot be mistaken. In point of style, we find an elegance, a spirit, and a dignity, which render the form of virtue visible, and therefore amiable; and the sentiments which that style embodies are such as prove that he was sincerely inspired with the love of that intrinsic excellence his pencil could so well delineate.

Nothing in all ancient literature gives so clear an insight into the history of the times in question as Cicero's letters to Atticus. They render the intrigues of the crisis obvious, the motives and interests of the parties intelligible: they illustrate what we learn from other authors, and explain what other authors have left in uncertainty, or tell

what they have omitted. Diodorus Siculus commences his work by stating the obligations of mankind to historians:—Τοῖς τὰς κοινὰς ἱστορίας πραγματευσαμένοις μεγάλας χάριτας ἀπονέμειν δίκαιον πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι τοῖς ἰδίοις πόνοις ὠφελῆσαι τὸν κοινὸν βίον ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν.

If the general historian be so great a benefactor, those who have left records of their genuine mind, who have detailed in familiar correspondence the views and the policy of their contemporaries, whether friendly or hostile, the accidental conference in the forum, or the unguarded table-talk at the banquet, are entitled to a large portion of our thanks. The sunshine of history is too often obscured by mists, and the day closes prematurely: when the darkness is thus superinduced, memoirs and correspondence become the gas-lights of times past.

To understand the condition of Rome at the time of Cicero's birth, it is necessary to have some general idea of the government from its first institution by Romulus. Cicero himself celebrates the Roman constitution as the most perfect of all governments; and in his theory we may nearly trace the *beau idéal* of our own:—"Statuo esse optime constitutam rempublicam, quæ ex tribus generibus illis, regali, optimo, et populari confusa modice, nec puniendo irritet animum immanem ac ferum, nec omnia prætermittendo, licentia cives deteriores reddat."—*Fragm. de Rep. 2.*

Their king was elected by the people, as the head of the republic, to be their leader in war, the guardian of the laws in peace. The senate was his council, chosen also by the people, by whose advice he was obliged to govern himself in all his measures. The sovereignty was lodged in the

body of the citizens, or the general society, whose prerogative it was to enact laws, create magistrates, declare war, and receive appeals in all cases, both from the king and the senate. Some writers have denied this right of appeal to the people. Let us see what Cicero says on the subject:—"Nam cum a primo urbis ortu, regiis institutis, partim etiam legibus, auspicia, cæremoniæ, comitia, provocationes, patrum consilium, equitum peditumque descriptio, tota res militaris, divinitus esset constituta; tum progressio admirabilis, incredibilisque cursus ad omnem excellentiam factus est, dominatu regio republica liberata."—*Tusc. Quæst.* lib. iv. cap. 1.

Seneca quotes a passage from his Treatise on the Republic, in confirmation of this doctrine:—"Cum Ciceronis libros de Rep. prehendit hinc philologus aliquis, hinc grammaticus, hinc philosophiæ deditus: alius alio curam sibi mittit. . . . Præterea notat, eum quem nos dictatorem dicimus, et in historiis ita nominari legimus, apud antiquos magistrum populi vocatum. . . . Provocationem ad populum etiam a regibus fuisse. Id ita in Pontificialibus libris aliqui putant, et Fenestella."—*Senec.* ep. 108. Valerius Maximus gives an instance confirmed by Livy:—"M. Horatius, interfectæ sororis crimine a Tullo rege damnatus, ad populum provecto judicio, absolutus est."—*Val. Max.* lib. viii. cap. 1.

By the revolution in the government, their old constitution was not changed, but restored to its primitive state. The name of king was abolished, but the power was retained. The difference was, that instead of choosing a single person for life, they chose two annually under the designation of consuls, invested with all the prerogatives and ensigns of royalty, and presiding as the kings had

done, in all the public business of the commonwealth. To convince the citizens that nothing was sought by the change but to secure their common liberty, and to re-establish their sovereignty on a more solid basis, P. Valerius Poplicola, one of the first consuls, made it capital for any man to exercise magistracy in Rome without their special appointment. Ἕτερον δὲ, ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται, ἐάν τις ἄρχων Ῥωμαίων τινὰ ἀποκλείνειν, ἢ μαγιγοῦν, ἢ ζημιοῦν εἰς χρήματα θέλῃ, ἐξεῖναι τῷ ἰδιώτῃ προκαλεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου κρίσιν, πάσχειν δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἕως ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ψηφίσηται. — *Dionys. Hal.* lib. v.

The conduct of Poplicola, when suspected of aspiring to the sovereignty, was consistent with these his enactments. Livy says, "Hæc dicta vulgo creditaque quum indignitate angerent consulis animum, vocato ad consilium populo, submissis fascibus in concionem escendit." This lowering of the maces became the constant practice with all succeeding consuls: besides which, Poplicola, on this occasion, took the axes out of the fasces, nor were they ever afterwards carried by the consuls within the city. Cicero himself thus describes the parties in the city: — "Duo genera semper in hac civitate fuerunt eorum, qui versari in republica, atque in ea se excellentius gerere studuerunt: quibus ex generibus alteri se populares, alteri optimates et haberi et esse voluerunt. Qui ea, quæ faciebant, quæque dicebant, multitudini jucunda esse volebant, populares: qui autem ita se gerebant, ut sua consilia optimo cuique probarent, optimates habebantur." — *Pro Sext.* cap. 45.

These contending factions were naturally jealous of each other, and desirous of extending their own power. The nobles, or patricians, composing the

senate, were the most immediate gainers by the change. With the consuls at their head, they were now the first movers and the efficient organs of all state measures. This gave them the preponderance in the balance against the people on a majority of occasions, notwithstanding the provisions made for popular controul. Within the short space of sixteen years, the senate became so insolent and oppressive, as to drive the plebeians to their celebrated secession into the sacred mount. They refused to return till they had extorted permission to create a new order of magistrates, of their own body, with the consent and sanction of the opposite party. Ἐδόκει ταῦτα πᾶσι, καὶ γράφεται πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συναρχόντων· ὅδε ὁ νόμος ἐστί· Δήμαρχον ἄκονλα, ὥσπερ ἕνα πολλῶν, μηδεὶς μηδὲν ἀναγκαζέτω δρᾶν, μηδὲ μαστιγούτω, μηδὲ ἐπιταττέτω μαστιγοῦν ἑτέρῳ, μηδὲ ἀποκλιννύτω, μηδὲ ἀποκλείνειν κελευέτω. ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων τι ποιήσῃ, ἐξάγιστος ἔστω, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος ἱερά· καὶ ὁ κλείνας τινὰ τῶν ταῦτα εἰργασμένων, φόνου καθαρὸς ἔστω. καὶ ἵνα μὴ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν τῷ δήμῳ ἐξουσία γένηται καλαπαῦσαι τόνδε τὸν νόμον, ἀλλ' εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἀκίνητος διαμείνῃ, πάντας ἐτάχθη Ῥωμαίους ὀμόσαι καθ' ἱερῶν, ἢ μὴν χρήσεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐγγόνους τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον.— *Dion. Hal.* lib. vi.

The name of Marcus, like all first names among the Romans, was properly personal. It was imposed with ceremonies in some degree analogous with those of baptism in Christian countries. "Est etiam Nundina Romanorum Dea, a nono die nascentium nuncupata, qui lustricus dicitur. Est autem dies lustricus, quo infantes lustrantur, et nomen accipiunt." — *Macrobii Saturnaliorum*, lib. i.

The child was on this occasion carried to the temple, by the friends and relations of the family,

and recommended to the protection of some tutelar deity, before the altars of the gods.

Cicero never misses an opportunity of magnifying his own profession. In his first book De Oratore he observes: — "Est enim sine dubio domus jurisconsulti totius oraculum civitatis." He pays this compliment to Quintus Mucius, whose hall, though he himself was infirm and advanced in years, was the daily resort of the citizens. The description applies indeed to the other Scævola as well as to the Augur. He elsewhere described the latter as opening his doors for admission at day-break, and never having been seen in bed, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, during the whole of the Marsic war.

The practice at the bar must be of great importance in every nation; and the more free that nation, the more important is it. It was highly so in Rome, and withal very peculiar. Cicero was the most illustrious example on record, of a patronising lawyer. His views extended far beyond the litigation of property. The law was not merely the road to political distinction for a very few of the leading men as with us, while the practice of the great body is confined to private causes, and their ambition to gentlemanly maintenance or the accumulation of wealth. Cicero held himself out as the guardian of the lives and liberty, as well as the fortunes and estates of his countrymen. Those who have not looked with historical precision at the predominant influence and dignity of a Roman barrister in the state, will be apt to consider Cicero's notions of the perfection and universal accomplishment necessary to an Orator or Pleader of causes, as overcharged and extravagant; as the rant of professional arrogance. But when we

consider the importance and endless variety of the subjects they had to treat, the opposite character of the audiences before whom they were to treat them; that their friends among the gentry were to be extricated from factious scrapes, whether as aggressors or as sinned against; that the plebeians were to be supported under oppression; that the Sicilians were to be avenged against a Verres; that the kings of the earth were their clients, and the universe was suspended on their words; that these debates were sometimes to be held before the majestic senate, sometimes before the acute and practised judges, and that at other times the people were to be courted or cajoled, encouraged or alarmed: when we thus take the character of the Roman advocate in all its bearings, we must acknowledge that his art included in it all learning and all science of a liberal kind; that it required the sublime genius of a poet though not his mechanical skill; the gravity and depth of a historian; the research of an antiquary; the natural knowledge in one branch, the metaphysical refinement in another branch of philosophy; the wit and humour of the comic dramatist or the satirist; in short, the cyclopædia of human inventions, and the concentrated results of civilised society in all ages.

Ac, veluti magno in populo cum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces et saxa volant; furor arma ministrat:
Tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent; arrectisque auribus adstant;
Iste regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet;
Sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, æquora postquam

Prospiciens genitor, cæloque invectus aperto,
Flectit equos, curruque volans dat lora secundo.
Virg. Æn. i. 148.

There is nothing perhaps in the history of the bar more honourable to it, than Cicero's advancement, and the character of the career which invested him with the robe of office, a robe which did more for his country than the sword against it.

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ.

His prudence and wise counsels delivered the laws and liberty, suspended by the public troubles, from the threatened danger. The honourable title of *Pater Patriæ*, the founder and father of his country, was given to him after the defeat of Catiline's conspiracy. He was the first who bore it, and the only person on whom it was conferred by Rome in its state of independence.

Tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
Nominis et tituli, quantum non Leucade, quantum
Thessaliæ campis Octavius abstulit udo
Cædibus assiduis gladio. Sed Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit.
Juvenal. sat. viii.

The *gown* of Cicero and the *sword* of Augustus are here strongly contrasted: the promontory of Epirus called Leucate, where Octavius Cæsar defeated Antony and Cleopatra in a bloody sea-fight; Philippi, the field of Brutus and Cassius's discomfiture, are made to yield in splendour, though the scenes of victory, to the consular triumphs. The

title here recorded was afterwards given to Augustus, and to others of the emperors; not for their deserts, but in the spirit of flattery.* Juvenal was a stern republican, and an uncompromising satirist. He hated Augustus, and meant to stigmatise Rome by the epithet *libera*, for allowing herself to be enslaved by him and his successors, not to compliment her on her temporary relief from the machinations of the conspirators. The uncontrollable indignation of the poet against his country, for giving up again that freedom which Cicero's glorious consulship had retrieved, is not softened by the clemency displayed on the emperor's part after he had attained the high object of his ambition. Modern eyes, looking with the impartiality of distance, see much in his subsequent conduct to atone for the waste of human blood in his earlier life: but we feel no consequences. Juvenal's free spirit smarted under the oppressions of his country; and he wrote at a period to know by experience, that though the first tyrant of a dynasty often bears his faculties mildly and *paternally*, as we express it now-a-days, his successors, safe in their seats, nursed in the lap of luxury, too elevated and independent to stand upon personal character, strip from autocracy every rag of its fallacious plea, that it acts according to the simplicity and benevolence of the patriarchal system, and hovers with half-celestial influence over the peace and prosperity of its children. Juvenal writes under the lash, and he returns it. The following passage is so caustic, that though not immediately referring to Cicero, no apology will be necessary for inserting it:—

* Antony erected a statue to Cæsar in the rostra, and inscribed it *to the most worthy parent of his country.*

Nec tamen ipsi
Ignoscas populo: populi frons durior hujus,
Qui sedet, et spectat triscurria patriciorum:
Planipedes audit Fabios, ridere potest qui
Mamercorum alapas. Quanti sua funera vendant,
Quid refert? vendunt nullo cogente Nerone,
Nec dubitant celsi Prætoris vendere ludis.
Finge tamen gladios inde, atque hinc pulpita pone:
Quid satius? mortem sic quisquam exhorruit, ut sit
Zelotypus Thymeles; stupidi collega Corinthi?
Res haud mira tamen, citharœdo principe, mimus
Nobilis: hæc ultra, quid erit nisi ludus? et illic
Dedecus urbis habes: nec mirmillonis in armis,
Nec clypeo Gracchum pugnantem, aut falce supina,
(Damnat enim tales habitus, sed damnat et odit,)
Nec galea frontem abscondit: movet ecce tridentem,
Postquam librata pendentia retia dextra
Nequicquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula vultum
Erigit, et tota fugit agnoscendus arena.
Credamus tunicæ, de faucibus aurea cum se
Porrigat, et longo jactetur spira galero.
Ergo ignominiam graviorem pertulit omni
Vulnere, cum Graccho jussus pugnare secutor.
Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
Perditus, ut dubitet Senecam præferre Neroni?
Cujus supplicio non debuit una parari
Simia, nec serpens unus, nec culeus unus.
Par Agamemnonidæ crimen; sed causa facit rem
Dissimilem: quippe ille Deis auctoribus ultor
Patris erat cæsi media inter pocula: sed nec
Electræ jugulo se polluit, aut Spartani
Sanguine conjugii: nullis aconita propinquis
Miscuit: in scena nunquam cantavit Orestes:
Troica non scripsit.

If Cicero was not more honest, he was at least better provided with worldly wisdom, than Cato. He thus describes that celebrated patriot in an epistle Ad Atticum, lib. i. :—"Unus est, qui curet, con-

stantia magis et integritate, quam, ut mihi videtur, consilio, aut ingenio, Cato; qui miseros publicanos quos habuit amantissimos sui, tertium jam mensem vexat, neque iis a senatu responsum dari patitur." On another occasion also, in the consulship of Q. Cæcilius Metellus and L. Afranius, he complains of Cato's conduct, as entirely contrary to good policy in speaking against the petition of the Knights, and that with so resolute an opposition, unlike some of our senators who speak one way and vote another, that he procured its rejection. In the letter just quoted, Cicero is much discontented with the conduct of his party; and throws out melancholy anticipations of their ultimate failure:—"Nam, ut ea breviter, quæ post tuum discessum acta sunt, colligam, jam exclames necesse est, res Romanas diutius stare non posse. Sic ille annus duo firmamenta reipublicæ, per me unum constituta, evertit: nam et senatus auctoritatem abjecit, et ordinum concordiam disjunxit." In a lost poem on his own consulship, of which a very few fragments are extant, he thus makes Calliope speak to himself:—

> Interea cursus, quos prima a parte juventæ,
> Quosque adeo consul virtute, animoque petisti,
> Hos retine, atque auge famam, laudemque bonorum.

The opportunities which occurred to a man so capable of availing himself of them as Cicero were apparently most favourable: and as far as he was personally concerned, in living fame, and in posthumous renown to the latest ages, he accomplished every thing for himself that he could wish. But the power of circumstances was too strong, to give permanent success to his efforts in behalf of his country. Lucan describes the crisis with oratorical force, as usual, rather than with poetical sublimity or imagination:—

Nec gentibus ullis
Commodat, in populum, terræ pelagique potentem,
Invidiam Fortuna suam. Tu causa malorum,
Facta tribus dominis communis, Roma, nec unquam
In turbam missi feralia fœdera regni. i. 82.

The disappointment which Cicero felt at the untoward progress of affairs, and his gloomy forebodings of a fatal issue, gave a tone of invective to his public harangues, and a splenetic querulousness to his private correspondence. He employed the leisure of his occasional retirement in drawing up certain anecdotes, as he terms them, comprehending a secret history of the times, which no one but Atticus was to peruse, in the style of Theopompus, who was the most satirical of all writers. He says that all his politics are reduced to one point, of hating bad citizens, and pleasing himself with writing against them. He considers himself as driven from the helm, with no further object of curiosity, than to see the wreck from the shore; quoting the following passage from Sophocles:—

Καὶ ὑπὸ σέγ᾽
Πυκνᾶς ἀκούειν ψεκάδος εὐδούσῃ φρενί.

The measures adopted respecting his house, were peculiarly calculated to gall a man, who had a gentlemanly pride in the elegance of his domestic arrangements, and wished to make his residence the temple of literature and the arts. He expresses himself bitterly on the subject:—"At quid tulit legum scriptor peritus et callidus? Velitis, Jubeatis, ut M. Tullio Aqua et Igni Interdicatur? Crudele, nefarium, ne in sceleratissimo quidem civi sine judicio ferundum. Quid ergo? Ut Interdictum sit."

His colleague Piso was among the most inveterate of his enemies. Envy was probably the real ground of this hostility; but envy shelters itself under plausible allegations. He upbraided Cicero with that vanity which it must be acknowledged was too prominent a feature of his character. This, and not his merits, he affected to consider as the cause of his exile. He taunts him with the provoking sarcasm, that Pompey made him feel how superior was the power of the general to that of the orator. He reminded him also, how mean and ungenerous it was, to vent his spleen only on contemptible objects, without daring to meddle with those who were more formidable, those against whom the expression of his resentment would have been more merited and more magnanimous.

The circumstance least to be expected perhaps in the life of Cicero, is the brilliancy of his military career as a provincial governor. Cilicia was his province: but Cappadocia, Armenia, Isauria, Lycaonia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, in short nearly the whole country of Asia Minor, constituted the theatre of his glory, and the object of his care. From time to time he marched nearly over the modern Amasia, Genu, and Tokat. The Cappadocians were so enamoured of slavery, that when the Romans offered them freedom, they declined it, and said they were not able to support liberty. Horace refers to their love of thraldom and their poverty:—

Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex.

This poor king was placed under Cicero's especial protection; and his generosity to him formed a strong contrast to the peculating habits and ex-

tortion of other proconsuls. It gives a curious idea how poor these people were, that in the time of Lucullus, an ox was sold for four-pence, and a man was worth not more than four times as much. Yet there is no appearance, from the letters of Cicero or others who were in the country at the time, that they were unhappy. As long as they had a kind protector like Cicero against plots and robbery, the absence of the stimulus which makes riches thought to be necessary, produced the effect of happiness in them more uniformly than does the possession of wealth in those who have pursued it with ardour: for the want of some little addition always poisons the enjoyment of the covetous or ambitious. In politics, they entertained no extensive designs, had no aspirations after liberty, and were as well disposed to be the cattle of the Romans as of any other people.

At any other time, probably, Cicero would have been well pleased with his government and even its prolongation; for he was winning golden opinions in it. But it was a vital object with him to return, to frustrate the intrigues respecting the two Gauls. Curio had become an engine of faction:—

> Momentumque fuit, mutatus Curio, rerum,
> Gallorum captus spoliis, et Cæsaris auro.
>
> *Lucan.* v. 819.

The following lines of Virgil are supposed to apply to the case of Curio, as having sold Rome to Cæsar:—

> Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
> Imposuit, fixit leges pretio atque refixit.

The African war held the whole empire in suspence. Scipio's name was thought ominous and invincible, on the theatre which had given a title to his ancestors. The attention of the public was rivetted on the scene of action, and they waited with anxious expectation for the decisive blow. Cicero had given up all hope of good from either side, and therefore chose to live retired and out of sight. Whether in the city or the country, he shut himself up with his books. They had hitherto been the diversion, but were now become the support of his life. Whatever his country might have lost by his despondence, the modern world has gained infinitely. Study was now his principal solace. He entered into close friendship and correspondence with M. Terentius Varro; and the letters which passed show the respect and affection to have been mutual. At Varro's desire, they mutually dedicated their learned works to each other, and both are immortalised. Cicero's Academic Questions are inscribed to Varro; Varro's Treatise on the Latin Tongue to Cicero.

During this interval of retirement, Cicero wrote his book on Oratorial Partitions. The subject is the art of ordering and distributing the parts of an oration, so as to adapt them in the best manner to their proper end, that of moving and persuading an audience.

Another fruit of this secession from politics, was his dialogue on famous orators, called Brutus. In this he gives a short character of all who had ever flourished either in Greece or Rome, with any considerable reputation for eloquence, down to his own times. He generally touches on the principal points of each individual's life; so that it will

be found to contain almost an epitome of the Roman history. The conference is supposed to be held with Brutus and Atticus in Cicero's garden at Rome, under the statue of Plato. This incident is peculiarly appropriate, because that Greek philosopher was the especial object of his admiration, and the model on which he generally formed his dialogues. In the present piece, his double title, *Brutus; or, Of Famous Orators,* seems to be conceived in the spirit of imitation. The speaker gives the first title, the subject the second. The title of one of Plato's dialogues is, *Phædon; or, Of the Soul.* This work was intended as a fourth, and supplemental book to the three, which he had before published on the *Complete Orator.*

Among the abuses produced by the confusion of the times, we should hardly have supposed did we not know it, that the computation of time would have been pressed into the service of faction. But the practice of intercalating was introduced most licentiously, till at length the months were transposed out of their order and natural arrangement, and their denominations completely falsified. The winter was carried back into autumn, and the autumn into summer. Cæsar determined to close the source of this disorder, by abolishing the use of intercalations. To this end he substituted the solar for the lunar year, and adjusted it to the exact measure of the sun's revolution in the zodiac, that is, to the period of time when it returns to the point whence it set out. The astronomers of that age supposed this to be three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours. To bring the year right from the extreme irregularity in which it had been going, and to start it clear and fresh for a more regular jour-

ney to future ages, was a work of difficulty and nice calculation. The object was effected by the skilful aid of Sosigenes, an eminent astronomer of Alexandria, whom Cæsar had brought to Rome for that purpose. A new calendar was formed on his observations by Flavius, a scribe, and was digested according to the succession of the Roman festivals. The old manner of computing their days by Kalends, Ides, and Nones, had been proclaimed by the dictator's edict not long after his return from Africa, and was adopted in the order now published. The year between the two calendars was the longest Rome had ever known. It consisted of fifteen months, or four hundred and forty-five days, and by the accuracy of its computation put an end to the confusion. The Julian, or solar year, was introduced at the commencement of the ensuing January. It continues in use to this day in all Christian countries, with one intervening regulation of the style, submitted by Lord Macclesfield to the British Parliament in the middle of the last century.

Cicero's own works would have furnished his history, had all the other books, in which his name is mentioned, perished. Dr. Middleton has made those works subservient to a luminous, as well as eloquent life of the illustrious Roman. Cicero frequently expatiates on the character of his own philosophy, and the practical effect of his opinions. Plato gave him courage to bear up against the disappointment of his political views. He had learned from that profound observer, that turns and revolutions must naturally be expected in states: that oligarchy, mob-government, and monarchy must each have their day. His own republic had

experienced these vicissitudes, and his own occupation was gone. He betook himself to his studies, to relieve his mind from brooding over the public misfortunes, and to make himself useful to his country in the only mode left for him. His books supplied the place of his votes in the senate, and of his speeches to the people. He had recourse to philosophy, when political life no longer afforded scope for his exertions, nor the slightest prospect of success if he made them.

Voluminous as are Cicero's works, much unfortunately is lost. Among the *desiderata* is a dialogue published during his retreat, and entitled Hortensius in honour of his friend. In this he carried on the play of debate, which had often been contested so seriously, yet so liberally at the bar. The subject was learning and philosophy. He undertook their defence, and assigned to his illustrious competitor the task of arraigning them. A remarkable circumstance attended the reading of this book. St. Austin was first led by it to the study of the Christian philosophy. It is curious that the church of Christ should owe one of its most illustrious converts, and one of its most powerful champions to the instrumentality of a heathen scholar.

About the same time, he composed another work on philosophy in four books: an account and defence of the Academy. It was his own sect; and the reason he gives for adhering to it is, its being of all others the most elegant, the least arrogant, and the most consistent with itself. He had before published a work on the same subject in two books, the one entitled *Catulus*, the other *Lucullus*. He did not however consider the argument as suited to the character of the speakers, who were not remark-

able in that line of study. His intention was to change them to Cato and Brutus. Atticus gave him a hint, that Varro had signified a wish to find his name in some of his writings. He immediately therefore remodelled his plan, and extended it to four books. These he addressed to Varro, taking on himself the part of Philo, in defence of the Academic principles, and giving that of Antiochus to Varro, who was to oppose and confute them. Atticus was the moderator of the debate.

Among the most valuable of his works, on a most important subject of philosophy, is a treatise published in the same year with his Academic Questions, in a dialogue De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum: on the chief Good and Ill of Man. It is written after the manner of Aristotle. He explains with all the recommendations of eloquence, and with the indispensible requisite of perspicuity on so difficult a question, the several opinions held by the ancient sects. He thus states his subject, and the superiority of its importance to the generality of those discussed by great men, and listened to with profound attention :—" Quid est enim in vita tantopere quærendum, quam cum omnia in philosophia, tum id, quod his libris quæritur, quid sit finis, quid extremum, quid ultimum, quo sint omnia bene vivendi, recteque faciendi consilia referenda? quid sequatur natura, ut summum ex rebus expetendis? quid fugiat, ut extremum malorum? qua de re cum sit inter doctissimos magna dissensio, quis alienum putet ejus esse dignitatis, quam mihi quisque tribuit, quod in omni munere vitæ optimum et verissimum sit, exquirere? An, partus ancillæ sitne in fructu habendus, disseretur inter principes civitatis, P. Scævolam, M' Manilium? ab hisque M. Brutus dissen-

tiet, (*shall take the negative where they take the affirmative,*) quod et acutum genus est, et ad usus civium non inutile: nosque ea scripta, reliquaque ejusdem generis et legimus libenter, et legemus: hæc, quæ vitam continent omnem, negligentur? Nam, ut sint illa vendibiliora, hæc uberiora certe sunt."

The work consists of five books. We have before had occasion to notice, how both here and elsewhere, Cicero opens the Epicurean doctrine, and discusses it in detail. It is defended by Torquatus, and confuted by Cicero, in a conversation held at his Cuman villa, in presence of Triarius, a young man of distinction, brought on a visit by Torquatus. The five books give the supposed substance of three dialogues. The scene of the last, occupying the fifth book, is laid at Athens. Piso explains the opinions of the Old Academy*, or the Peripatetics, in presence of Cicero, his brother Quintus, his cousin Lucius, and Atticus. He addresses the whole work to Brutus, in return for a dedication of the same kind on the part of Brutus, prefixed to his Treatise on Virtue.

In a short time after the publication of this last work, he produced another of equal dignity, which he entitled Tusculan Disputations. This also consisted of five books, on as many different questions of philosophy, bearing the most strongly on the practice of life, and involving topics the most essential to human happiness. In the first book the question is put, "Sed quæ sunt ea, quæ dicis te

* The Academics, by adopting the probable instead of the certain, preserved the balance between the two extremes, and were moderate in their opinions. Plutarch was one of them: his maxim was, Μηδὲν ἄγαν.

majora moliri?" The answer is, "Ut doceam, si possim, non modo malum non esse, sed bonum etiam esse mortem." He states the subject of the second book on temperate and rational grounds; not with the extravagance of the Stoics:—"Nec tam quærendum est, dolor malumne sit, quam firmandus animus ad dolorem ferendum." With the same practical good sense is the question of the third book set down, and the real ground of manly fortitude settled:—"Hæc igitur præmeditatio futurorum malorum, lenit eorum adventum, quæ venientia longe ante videris." In the fourth book he complains that the philosophers treat moral subjects, and the means of attaining happiness, with more of scholastic subtlety and formal method, than of practical utility:—Quia Chrysippus, et Stoici, cum de animi perturbationibus disputant, magnam partem in his partiendis et definiendis occupati sunt: illa eorum perexigua oratio est, qua medeantur animis, nec eos turbulentos esse patiantur." This deficiency he endeavours to supply. In the opening of the fifth book, he thus addresses Brutus:—"Placere enim tibi admodum sensi, et ex eo libro, (*De Virtute,*) quem ad me accuratissime scripsisti, et ex multis sermonibus tuis, virtutem ad beate vivendum se ipsa esse contentam." To establish that proposition, is the final object of the discussion.

It was Cicero's habit, during his intervals of leisure, to invite some of his friends into the country. Not being much of a game-preserver, not knowing spring guns, setting no traps, and maintaining no warfare with poachers, he was reduced to the necessity of killing time by such conversation, as could not but involve the improvement of the mind, and the enlargement of the understanding.

It is not here meant to be insinuated, that the entertainment was wholly speculative; or that he did not give very good dinners. But they were accompanied with what persons addicted to curious and uncommon quotation would call, "the feast of reason and the flow of soul:" nor did they at all resemble a dinner party, at which a friend of mine was present many years ago in the west of England. Had the thing happened last week, and in the east, nothing should have induced me to divulge it. The company consisted of squires and clergy. When the cloth was removed, one of the guests, no matter whether lay or clerical, produced a horse's hoof from his pocket, and laid it on the table with the dessert. This gave rise, as was intended, to an animated and scientific *Tusculana Quæstio* on farriery.

The treatise in question recounts the diversions of five days, among a party of Cicero's friends at his Tusculan villa. Hence, the title of *Tusculan Disputations*. It is a point of considerable nicety, how far the different dialogues of this kind are to be ranked as mere fictions, for the purpose of communicating a dramatic air and enlivening dry discussion, or whether they be the literal records of a real debate; or lastly, the heads of somewhat desultory conversations, expanded, methodised, coloured by a more masterly hand, heightened by the ornaments of eloquence and the sublime of philosophy. That they were, on some occasions, far from literal, has been shown by the change of names for purposes of personal compliment. Were we to consider them as absolute romances, we should lose all the antiquarian interest derived from the machinery. *Medio tutissimus ibis*, as the recondite quoter would express himself. However

much or little of the actual words might have been spoken, we may suppose the parties mentioned, to have been carried down to the villa by the host: that the mornings were employed in declamation and rhetorical exercises. We have every reason to believe it a fact that Cicero had built a gallery there, called the Academy, for the purpose of philosophical conferences. Thither the company was in the habit of retiring in the afternoon; and there he held a school after the manner of the Greeks, and invited his guests to call for any subject they might desire to hear explained. Whatever any of the party proposed, was made the argument of that day's debate. Either therefore Cicero, who was an adept on all philosophical subjects, and versed in the theories of all the schools, contented himself to write on any subject, in which his visitors might most wish to be instructed; or they paid their host the compliment of calling for such subjects, as from any thing dropt in previous conversation, they might suppose him most inclined to talk about, and ultimately to write upon. It matters not to us, which way the selection arose; this hypothesis is sufficient to give the vehicle of dialogue, so insipid where the occasion and the characters are entirely fictitious, *a local habitation*, as our friend would say, and *names* of historical interest. These conferences, on the present occasion five, he was in the habit of collecting into writing; but as we do not know that there was any short-hand, and are sure there was no Boswell, it should seem as if Dr. Middleton had stated the thing too strongly, in saying that they were given "in the very words and manner in which they really passed."

Another of Cicero's celebrated discourses is that on Fate. It arose from a conversation with Hirtius, at his villa near Puteoli, where they spent several days together to enjoy the spring. He is supposed about the same time to have finished his translation of Plato's dialogue, entitled Timæus, on the nature and origin of the universe. He was also employing himself on a work of a different kind, which had been long on his hands: a history of his own times; which might have been more appropriately called an explanation and justification of his own conduct. It was full of free and severe reflections on Cæsar and Crassus, and others who had abused their power to the oppression of the commonwealth. He gave it the modest denomination of *Anecdotes*. It was not to be published, as too hazardous; but to be shown only to a few friends. It was written, as before observed, after the manner of the historian Theopompus, who indulged in the severity of a satirist, and the invective of a misanthrope.

He began his Book of Offices at his country-seat near Naples, designed, as he tells us, for the use and instruction of his son, that the time passed in an excursion of pleasure might not be entirely lost. He also composed there an oration, adapted to the circumstances of the time, and sent it to Atticus, to be suppressed or brought forward at his discretion; besides which he engaged to finish, and send to his friend shortly, his secret history or anecdotes in the manner of Heraclides, to be carefully concealed in his cabinet.

He wrote a treatise also on the Nature of the Gods. In all these books an incautious reader is apt to be misled; but an attentive one never can.

The author sometimes takes upon himself the character of a Stoic; sometimes that of an Epicurean; or again, that of a Peripatetic. The object of this is to explain, with more semblance of authority, the different doctrines of each sect; and besides that, to show by what arguments those who differ from himself can each confute the other. When he puts off this mask, and appears in his own person of an Academic, he disputes against them all collectively. Hence he has been accused of broaching contradictory sentiments, from the occasions not having been carefully noted when he has set up an argument only to knock it down. It must be distinctly understood, if we mean to assist our own powers of reasoning, or in any way to profit by this branch of his writings, that when he treats any subject professedly, or gives a judgment on it deliberately, either in his own person or in that of an Academic, he is to be held responsible for all opinions there brought forward. In scenes where he does not introduce himself, he generally lets us know to which of the interlocutors he consigns the maintenance of the party he in his own mind espouses: and that interlocutor is usually the principal speaker in the dialogue. Thus Crassus represents Cicero in the treatise De Oratore; Scipio, in that De Republica; Cato, in that De Senectute.

He seems to have thought with Socrates, that a minute and curious attention to natural philosophy, so as to make it an ultimate object of scientific investigation, is attended with little profit, and an inadequate employment further than as a relaxation.

On the great subject, the immortality of the soul, and its separate existence after death, in a

state of happiness or misery, he probably carried the belief of the doctrine as far as a person unenlightened by revelation could push it. If he went no further than inference, and stopped at a point far short of what we consider as the proof, it was the misfortune of his age, not the fault of his mind. The opinion of the Stoics was, that the soul is a subtilised fiery substance, which survives the earthy particles of the body, and subsists for a long time after it: but that it was not capable of resisting the expected final destruction of all things by the rage of its own element. Cicero, on the contrary, treated it as an unmixed and indivisible essence. If it could not be separated by any external force, he argued that it could not perish. All its powers and faculties he considered, both in their nature and extent, as favourable to the supposition of immortality. The principle of voluntary self-originating motion, memory, invention, wit, comprehension; — all these seemed to him incompatible with the inertness of matter. He laid much stress also on the thirst of immortality so ardent in the best and the most elevated minds: he felt the destiny of man to be indicated, not by the coarse pleasures of the multitude, but by the sublime aspirations of nature's noblest master-pieces. The doctrine of God, providence, and immortality, was the basis of Cicero's religion, on which, as a measure of prudence, he professed to raise the superstructure of the Roman *Dii Minorum Gentium:* but the heaven of his secret breast was not peopled with such inhabitants. His opinions and conduct on the subject of augury, on which Appius dedicated a treatise to him, are worthy of remark. He did not altogether agree with the notions either of his

dedicator or of Marcellus. His belief was, that augury might possibly be first instituted on a persuasion of its divinity. The improvement of arts and learning in succeeding ages had exploded that opinion in all but the vulgar mind: but state-craft retained the establishment for the political purpose of influencing and overawing that vulgar mind; and Cicero himself was glad to be an augur, at the risk of laughing in the faces of his colleagues.

To return to his *esoteric* opinions. He considered the system of the world, as exposed to the view of man, to be the promulgation of God's law, the sensible announcement of his will to mankind. Hence we may collect his being, nature, and attributes, and in some degree ascertain the principles and motives on which he acts. By observing what he has done, we may learn what we ought to do: by tracing the operations of divine reason, we may learn how to discipline our own. The imitation of God he makes to constitute the perfection of man. From the will of God manifested in his works, he derives the origin of all duty and moral obligation. The fitness and relation of things displayed throughout all creation, constitute the prototype of our propriety, consistency, and rationality. God is the inventor, propounder, and enactor of his own law. Whosoever will not obey it, throws off his allegiance, and renounces the nature of man. Though he escape the tortures of material punishment as commonly believed, Cicero thinks that conscience will be his severest tormentor. Nothing but the study of this law, he says, can teach us this important lesson prescribed by the Pythian oracle, to know ourselves. He explains this pithy precept

in detail; and makes its fulfilment to consist in the knowledge of our own nature and rank in the general system; the relation we bear to other things; and the purposes for which we were sent into the world. When a man has carefully observed the heavens, the earth, the sea, and the things in them; has scrutinised their origin, their apparent tendency, and their probable end; has separated the divine and eternal from the perishable: when he has almost found his way into the divine presence, and feels himself an unconfined citizen of the world: with such enlarged prospects, then will he begin to know himself, and to despise what the vulgar esteem most glorious. On these principles as laid down in his writings did Cicero build his religion and morality. His treatise on Government and Laws illustrated, explained, and enlarged them. His Book of Offices made the scheme complete.

The elder Pliny bears testimony to the merit of these works: — "Scito enim conferentem auctores me deprehendisse a juratissimis et proximis veteres transcriptos ad verbum, neque nominatos: non illa Virgiliana virtute, ut certarent; non Ciceroniana simplicitate, qui in libros de Republica, 'Platonis se Comitem' profitetur: in Consolatione filiæ, 'Crantorem, inquit, sequor:' item 'Panætium de Officiis:' quæ volumina ejus ediscenda, non modo in manibus quotidie habenda, nosti."

The treatise De Republica, the greatest of these works, was lost, with the exception of a few fragments.* He had here given so full and fair a

* Some further portions have been recently recovered.

transcript of his inward mind, that he tells Atticus, those six books are so many hostages given to his country for his good behaviour. Were he ever to go backward from his integrity, he could never again dare to open those volumes.

Is it to be inferred, that these great discoveries of a heathen lessen the necessity of revelation? Cicero is a standing proof of the direct contrary. St. Paul says that there is a law taught by nature, and written on the hearts of the Gentiles, to guide them through their self-regretted ignorance and darkness, till a more perfect revelation of the divine will should be vouchsafed. The scheme professed by Cicero was unquestionably the most perfect ever divulged to the heathen world: the greatest effort of unassisted nature towards attaining the supreme good of which it is capable, and the proper end of created beings.

Erasmus could not help exclaiming, that the mind from which such sublime truths proceeded, must have been under the influence of something more than natural suggestions. Yet these glorious sentiments were rather the visions of his hope, than the convictions of his reason. These were the ebullitions of his enthusiasm: other passages of his works furnish us with the misgivings of his melancholy moments, the diffidence of his timid calculations, the doubts which the Sceptic too successfully proposed to the Academic. Insulated quotations will establish in the mind of a reader not thoroughly acquainted with his works, a disbelief in the immortality of the soul, a negative on a future state of rewards and punishments.

In his political capacity he was invariably the friend of peace and liberty. He was constantly

bent on smoothing down the violence of the conflicting parties, and set his face against every new advance to the propagation of civil discord. He was so indefatigable in contriving and proposing projects of accommodation, that he incurred the nick-name of the Peace-maker. His leading maxim as a politician was, that as the end of a pilot is a prosperous voyage; that of a physician, the health of his patient; that of a general, victory;—that of a statesman is, to make the people happy; to establish them in power, to enrich them, to advance their glory and secure their virtue. This he declares to be the best work a man can perform.

But as this cannot be effected, without unanimity in a state, it was his uniform endeavour to blend the different orders into one mass of mutual confidence; to balance the supremacy of the people by the authority of the senate; to divide their functions between counsel and execution, between ultimate decision and previous influence. It happened unfortunately, he was leagued with a party made up of unconnected shreds and patches. Brutus and Cassius were men of character like himself; high in principle, patriotic in purpose. But very different were those next in authority to them. Decimus Brutus and C. Trebonius had both been deeply pledged to Cæsar's interests. They had been favoured, promoted, and confided in by him in all his wars. When Cæsar first marched into Spain, he left Brutus to command the siege of Marseilles by sea, Trebonius by land. They acquitted themselves with bravery and military skill, and reduced that strong place to the necessity of a surrender at discretion. Their opportunities of thus signalising themselves were created by Cæsar's

patronage: strong indeed must have been the patriotic impulse, if such it were, which should induce them to cut asunder all the ties of gratitude. The conduct of the party has been hallowed by its martyrdom; but Cicero's correspondence gives us reason to believe, that had success given birth to the clash of interests and the recriminations of jealousy, much foul play and mean motive, treachery and avarice, dishonourable ambition and factious intrigue would have disfigured the history, and swelled with dirty anecdotes the scandalous chronicles of the times. Cicero seemed to derive great hopes from Plancus; but generally speaking, he despaired of the cause from the discordant elements of which it was composed. "Quæ si ad tuum tempus perducitur, facilis gubernatio est: ut perducatur autem, magnæ cum diligentiæ est, tum etiam fortunæ." The qualification was distrustful, and prophetic. The *evocati*, a body of veterans, invited again to the service after dismissal, on the footing of volunteers, and entitled to peculiar privileges, were brought down on Antony's side in the great conflict in which Hirtius and Pansa lost their lives. The consul or the general who commanded them reckoned much upon them. Such a band, with experience and military renown, returning in vigour to the war, with honourable distinction and the popularity of well-earned laurels, was a host which they of the adverse faction wanted. The gain of a victory produced no lasting benefit to the patriots; the loss of a battle placed them on the brink of destruction. Their armies were destroyed; their military chiefs fell in various ways, and Cicero was murdered for his Philippics.

The length of this article leaves no room for entering at large into an examination of Cicero's speeches. The great orations are well known to every classical reader: but the shortest deserve attention. The ninth philippic, in answer to Servilius, is not only eloquent, but shows Cicero in the light of a private friend, as well as a promoter of the public service.

"Quod si cuiqam justus honos habitus est in morte legato, in nullo justior, quam in Ser. Sulpicio, reperietur. . . . Sulpicius cum aliqua perveniendi ad M. Antonium spe profectus est, nulla revertendi. qui cum ita affectus esset, ut, si ad gravem valitudinem labor viæ accessisset, sibi ipse diffideret: non recusavit, quo minus vel extremo spiritu, si quam opem reipublicæ ferre posset, experiretur. Itaque non illum vis hiemis, non nives, non longitudo itineris, non asperitas viarum, non morbus ingravescens retardavit: cumque jam ad congressum colloquiumque ejus pervenisset, ad quem erat missus, in ipsa cura et meditatione obeundi sui muneris excessit e vita. . . . . Ego autem, patres conscripti, sic interpretor sensisse majores nostros, ut causam mortis censuerint, non genus esse quærendum. Etenim cui legatio ipsa morti fuisset, ejus monumentum exstare voluerunt, ut in bellis periculosis obirent homines legationis munus audacius. . . . . Nunc autem quis dubitat, quin ei vitam abstulerit ipsa legatio? secum enim ille mortem extulit: quam, si nobiscum remansisset sua cura, optimi filii, fidelissimæ conjugis diligentia, vitare potuisset. At ille, cum videret, si vestræ auctoritati non paruisset, dissimilem se futurum sui; si paruisset, munus sibi illud pro republica susceptum,

vitæ finem allaturum: maluit in maximo reipublicæ discrimine mori, quam minus, quam potuisset, videri reipublicæ profuisse. Multis illi in urbibus, qua iter faciebat, reficiendi se, et curandi potestas fuit. aderat et hospitum invitatio liberalis pro dignitate summi viri, et eorum hortatio, qui una erant missi, ad requiescendum, et vitæ suæ consulendum. At ille properans, festinans, mandata nostra conficere cupiens, in hac constantia, morbo adversante, perseveravit. . . . . Quod si excusationem Ser. Sulpicii, patres conscripti, legationis obeundæ recordari volueritis, nulla dubitatio relinquetur, quin honore mortui, quam vivo injuriam fecimus, sarciamus. Vos enim, patres conscripti, (grave dictu est, sed dicendum tamen,) vos, inquam, Ser. Sulpicium vita privastis: quem cum videretis re magis morbum, quam oratione, excusantem, non vos quidem crudeles fuistis, (quid enim minus in hunc ordinem convenit?) sed, cum speraretis nihil esse, quod non illius auctoritate et sapientia effici posset, vehementius excusationi obstitistis: atque eum, qui semper vestrum consensum gravissimum judicavisset, de sententia dejecistis. Ut vero Pansæ consulis accessit cohortatio gravior, quam aures Ser. Sulpicii ferre didicissent, tum vero denique filium, meque seduxit, atque ita locutus est, ut auctoritatem vestram vitæ suæ se diceret anteferre. cujus nos virtutem admirati, non ausi sumus ejus adversari voluntati. movebatur singulari pietate filius: non multum ejus perturbationi meus dolor concedebat: sed uterque nostrum cedere cogebatur magnitudini animi, orationisque gravitati: cum quidem ille, maxima laude et gratulatione omnium vestrum, pollicitus

est, se, quod velletis, esse facturum, neque ejus sententiæ periculum vitaturum, cujus ipse auctor fuisset: quem exsequi mandata vestra properantem, mane postridie prosecuti sumus. . . Reddite igitur, patres conscripti, ei vitam, cui ademistis. vita enim mortuorum in memoria vivorum est posita. perficite, ut is, quem vos ad mortem inscii misistis, immortalitatem habeat a vobis. cui si statuam in Rostris decreto vestro statueritis, nulla ejus legationem posteritatis inobscurabit oblivio."

With respect to his virtues, talents and general character, he says, "Nam reliqua Ser. Sulpicii vita multis erit præclarisque monumentis ad omnem memoriam commendata. . . . . hæc enim statua, mortis honestæ testis erit: illa, memoria vitæ gloriosæ: ut hoc magis monumentum grati senatus, quam clari viri, futurum sit." He ends by proposing a decree, "Sulpicio statuam pedestrem æneam in Rostris ex hujus ordinis sententia statui, circumque eam statuam locum gladiatoribus liberos posterosque ejus quoquo versus pedes quinque habere, eamque causam in basi inscribi: Pansa, Hirtius, consules, alter, ambove, si eis videatur, quæstoribus urbanis imperent, ut eam basim statuamque faciendam et in Rostris statuendam locent: quantique locaverint, tantam pecuniam redemtori attribuendam solvendamque curent: cumque antea senatus auctoritatem suam in virorum fortium funeribus ornamentisque ostenderit; placere, eum quam amplissime supremo die suo efferri. . . . . utique locum sepulcro in campo Esquilino C. Pansa consul, seu quo alio in loco videatur, pedes triginta quoquo versus adsignet, quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur. quod sepulcrum, ipsius, liberorum, posterorumque ejus sit, uti quod optimo

jure sepulcrum publice datum est." The senate agreed to this proposal; and the statue itself, as we are told by Pomponius, De Orig. Jur., remained to his time in the Rostra of Augustus.

This is a fair specimen of Cicero's eloquence of the middle kind, and the whole proceedings about the statues and the decrees, are full of antiquarian information with respect to manners, and curious illustration.

Cicero's correspondence is one of the most valuable legacies bequeathed to us by antiquity. The collection addressed to his friends and received from them, is full of political intelligence, and lets us more behind the scenes than all the other writings of the period put together. The letters to Atticus partake fully of that recommendation, besides which, they portray the writer's mind in its undress: for he there opens his heart in all the frankness of familiar intercourse and unlimited confidence. The strong attachment, the sorrow at parting, the desire of meeting, appear equally and with amiable fervour in both. Political confidence is followed up by unreserved communication of literary projects. Cicero says in one of his letters, "That part of yours pleases me, where you comfort yourself with the hope of our speedily meeting again. The same expectation chiefly supports me. I will write to you regularly, and by every possible opportunity; and will give you an account of every thing relating to Brutus. I will also send you shortly my Treatise on Glory; and finish for you the other work, to be locked up with your treasure." This last announcement of course refers to the invectives mentioned before.

On the whole, great as is his fame, there is no character which has met with harder treatment than that of Cicero. His besetting sin was vanity: and it has raised up, both among his contemporaries and with posterity, a hue and cry against him which so venial a failing seldom encounters. With many drawbacks from the general infirmity of human nature, obliged to do many things from the extreme difficulty, danger, and perplexity of the times, which calm judgment and good feeling would have avoided, Cicero was one of the best as well as the greatest men of a crisis, when goodness was not thought necessary to greatness, and was more uncommon than it. If we wish to see the greatest lawyer that ever lived, we must look at Cicero in the Forum: if the most prompt and the bravest of chief magistrates in times of imminent danger, we must note Cicero in his consulship, and study well the conspiracy of Catiline: would we know who was the most just and the deepest thinker, most nearly approximating to the philosophy of Christianity, in the Gentile world, we must read Cicero's opinions on the immortality of the soul, and on a future state.

ON SENECA.

At Agrippina, ne malis tantum facinoribus notesceret, veniam exsilii pro Annæo Seneca, simul Præturam impetrat, lætum in publicum rata, ob claritudinem studiorum ejus, utque Domitii pueritia tali magistro adolesceret, et consiliis ejusdem ad spem dominationis uteretur: quia Seneca fidus in Agrippinam, memoria beneficii, et infensus Claudio, dolore injuriæ, credebatur.—CORNEL. TACIT. *Annal.* lib. xii. cap. 8.

THE family of the Senecas was Spanish. Spain was also proud of counting in those days, her Lucan, Quintilian, Silius, and Martial. The latter poet mentions the principal places in the provinces, whence eminent writers have come: —

Apollodoro plaudit imbrifer Nilus;
Nasone Peligni sonant:
Duosque Senecas, unicumque Lucanum
Facunda loquitur Corduba.
Lib. i. epig. 62.

He mentions in the same epigram Verona, the second Venetian city, as the birthplace of Catullus, and Padua as that of Livy. He speaks of Seneca again: —

Atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto,
Et docti Senecæ ter numeranda domus.
Lib. iv. epig. 42.

Lucius Seneca, born at Corduba, now *Cordova*, was the son of Marcus the orator, and uncle to the poet Lucan. He was himself an orator, a philosopher, a historian, and a poet, on the presumption that the tragedies were written by him, which however has been doubted, as it has been supposed that there was a third Seneca. But as they passed under his name we shall consider them as his.*

There is no name in antiquity, respecting which more difference of opinion has prevailed, both in a personal and literary point of view. It must be confessed that he did not set out very well in life. The passage at the head of this article, informs us, that he was appointed tutor to Nero by Agrippina, who recalled him from banishment. His first notorious exploit, for which he was driven into that banishment, was corrupting Julia the daughter of Germanicus.† Lord Bolingbroke did not philosophise more vain-gloriously on magnanimity and patience, than this Stoical seducer on so honourable an occasion of his exile. He flattered Claudius, and still more grossly his favourite Polybius, to obtain the repeal of his sentence. When he had succeeded, he forgot the latter, and betrayed the former. But it is after his return that it is worth our while to trace him. His great abilities introduced him to the joint tutorship with Burrus. The latter was his instructor in military science, and endeavoured to communicate his own se-

* Seneca the philosopher had two brothers: Annæus Mela, the father of Lucan; and Annæus Novatus, who was afterwards adopted by Gallio, and took that name. The death of Mela is mentioned in the Annals of Tacitus.

† Claudius banished him for this alleged intrigue to the island of Corsica, A. U. C. 794.

dateness and gravity of manners. Elegant accomplishment, taste for the arts, and polite address were Seneca's province. Among other tutorial employment, he composed Nero's speeches. The first, a funeral oration for Claudius, was unfortunate in its effect, according to Tacitus:—"Postquam ad *providentiam sapientiamque* flexit, nemo risui temperare, quamquam oratio, a Seneca composita, multum cultus præferret: ut fuit illi viro ingenium amœnum, et temporis ejus auribus adcommodatum."—Lib. xiii. cap. 3.

Nero's next harangue, probably also written by Seneca, though Tacitus does not say so, gave universal satisfaction. It was delivered on his first appearance in the senate, and promised a reign of moderation. Seneca, we may suppose, seized the opportunity, in putting a popular inauguration speech into the young prince's mouth, to impress his mind also with a lesson on the true arts of government. Dio says that this address was ordered to be engraven on a pillar of solid silver, and to be publicly read every year when the consuls entered on their office.

Seneca soon obtained an exclusive influence over his pupil, and engaged Annæus Serenus, who stood high in his esteem and friendship, to assist him in the means, not very creditable, of preserving his ascendency, by supplying Nero with a mistress, and persecuting his patroness Agrippina, whose indignation rose far above high-water mark. Tacitus put into her mouth a few emphatic words, said to be uttered in the emperor's hearing. They have been finely imitated and expanded by Racine, in his tragedy of Britannicus; and Gray, in his short fragment of Agrippina, has done little more than

translate Racine: how closely and how well, the passage from the French poet will show:—

Pallas n'emporte pas tout l'appui d'Agrippine:
Le ciel m'en laisse assez pour venger ma ruine.
Le fils de Claudius commence à ressentir
Des crimes dont je n'ai que le seul repentir.
J'irai, n'en doutez point, le montrer à l'armée;
Plaindre, aux yeux des soldats, son enfance opprimée;
Leur faire, à mon exemple, espier leur erreur.
On verra d'un côté le fils d'un empereur
Redemandant la foi jurée á sa famille,
Et de Germanicus on entendra la fille.
De l'autre, l'on verra le fils d'Œnobarbus,
Appuyé de Séneque et du tribun Burrhus,
Qui, tous deux de l'exil rappelés par moi-même,
Partagent à mes yeux l'autoritè suprême.
De nos crimes communs je veux qu'on soit instruit;
On saura les chemins par où je l'ai conduit.
Pour rendre sa puissance et la vôtre odieuses,
J'avoûrai les rumeurs les plus injurieuses;
Je confesserai tout, exils, assassinats,
Poison même.

Agrippina regained a temporary influence, and succeeded in punishing some of her accusers, and rewarding her friends. Among the promotions obtained by her, was that of Balbillus to the province of Egypt, It seems strange, that a person so highly spoken of by Seneca, should have been patronised by Agrippina at this juncture. "Balbillus *virorum optimus, in omni litterarum genere rarissimus*, auctor est, cum ipse præfectus obtineret Ægyptum, Heracleotio ostio Nili, quod est maximum, spectaculo sibi fuisse delphinorum a mari occurrentium, et crocodilorum a flumine adversum agmen agentium, velut pro partibus prælium." —*Annæi Senecæ Natural. Quæst.* lib. iv.

It was not till Suilius had too justly upbraided, but at the same time coarsely reviled Seneca, that the latter incurred any large portion of popular censure. Among the grounds on which Suilius attacked him, were those of usury, avarice, and rapacity. That he was avaricious is beyond all question; but his practices must have been exorbitant to justify so violent an invective as that recorded by Tacitus:— "An gravius existimandum, sponte litigatoris præmium honestæ operæ adsequi, quam conrumpere cubicula Principum feminarum? Qua sapientia, quibus philosophorum præceptis, intra quadriennium Regiæ amicitiæ, ter millies sestertium paravisset? Romæ testamenta et orbos velut indagine ejus capi. Italiam et provincias inmenso fenore hauriri." — *Annal.* lib. xiii. cap. 42.

The only historical authority on which Seneca's memory is loaded with this strong charge of usury, is that of Dio, who says that the philosopher had placed very large sums out at interest in Britain, and that his vexations and unrelenting demands of payment had been the cause of insurrections among the Britons. But Dio's veracity has been suspected on some occasions; and as for the colour given to the imputation by the passage quoted from Tacitus, it must be remembered that it occurs as proceeding from the mouth of an enraged enemy. These imputed faults could scarcely escape a hint from Juvenal, although he had made use of him before as a contrast to Nero, and seems generally favourable to his character:—

Temporibus diris igitur, jussuque Neronis,
Longinum, et magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos
Clausit, et egregias Lateranorum obsidet ædes
Tota cohors: rarus venit in cœnacula miles. Sat. 10.

Seneca's share in the death inflicted on Agrippina by her son, and a strong suspicion that he drew up the palliative account of it, bear still harder on his fame. The savage mode of the assassination, and the meanness of the posthumous honours paid to her, a circumstance of infinitely more importance than modern ideas attach to it, as affecting the future happiness and condition of the departed spirit, reflect indelible disgrace on all concerned, The murder took place in the neighbourhood of Baiæ. Seneca, in his epistles, describes the villas of Marius, Pompey, and Cæsar, as built on the ridges of the neighbouring hills:—"Adspice quam positionem elegerunt, quibus ædificia excitaverunt locis, et qualia: scias non villas esse, sed castra."—Ep. 51.

An humble monument was erected by her domestics in this sequestered spot, difficult of access, that the busy world might have nothing to remind it of the parricide. In a plausible letter addressed to Nero by the senate, in which the public saw the hand of Seneca, allusion is made to that politic interference on the part of the adroit preceptor, which, under the show of suggesting filial piety, prevented the attempt of the mother to share the tribunal with her son, at the audience of the Armenian ambassadors.

Retribution soon overtook these unworthy compliances with the will of a wicked master. Nero, to whom, in the usual descent from bad to worse, the slightest infusion of virtue was an offence, listened to evil counsellors, and with complacency allowed the most respectable of his adherents to be traduced. Tacitus says, "Hi variis criminationibus Senecam adoriuntur, tanquam ingentes et privatum supra modum evectas opes adhuc augeret,

quodque studia civium in se verteret, hortorum quoque amœnitate et villarum magnificentia quasi Principem supergrederetur. Objiciebant etiam, eloquentiæ laudem uni sibi adsciscere, et carmina crebrius factitare, postquam Neroni amor eorum venisset. Nam oblectamentis Principis palam iniquum, detrectare vim ejus equos regentis; inludere voces, quoties caneret. Quem ad finem nihil in Rep. clarum fore, quod non ab illo reperiri credatur." —Lib. 14. The tragedies are here alluded to, which were ascribed to him when they could do him mischief. The flattery of Nero was here adroitly mixed up with malice against his devoted friend.

There is too much reason to believe that his numerous villas, his extensive gardens, and great riches whetted the edge of these accusations. Nomentanum was one of his country residences, from which he dates a letter:—" Ex Nomentano meo te saluto, et jubeo te habere mentem bonam, hoc est, propitios deos omnes: quos habet placatos et faventes, quisquis sibi se propitiavit."—Ep. 110.*

His speech to the emperor, in which he offers to resign all his wealth and power, and asks permission to retire, is a fine specimen of apologetic eloquence. His admissions confirm Dio's account of his immoderate riches; but the historian probably exaggerates, when he imputes the insurrection in Britain to his exactions. From this time he avoided the court, and lived an abstemious life in constant danger. His works however show that he was more useful in retirement, than while filling high offices. He devoted himself to philosophy, natural and moral. Among other things, we owe to

* In Nomentanum meum fugi, quid putas? urbem, imo febrem et quidem surrepentem. — Ep. 104.

him an account of the earthquake at Pompeii, which happened in his time: but he places it a year later than other authorities. The town was finally overwhelmed by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, A.U.C. 832. Its modern name is *Torre dell' Annunciata.*

Nero now sought his destruction; and Piso's conspiracy, to which he was supposed to be a party, gave the opportunity. Tacitus has the following passage:—"Fama fuit, Subrium Flavium cum centurionibus occulto consilio, neque tamen ignorante Seneca, destinavisse, ut, post occisum opera Pisonis Neronem, Piso quoque interficeretur, tradereturque Imperium Senecæ, quasi insontibus claritudine virtutum ad summum fastigium delecto. Quin et verba Flavii vulgabantur: non referre dedecori, si citharœdus demoveretur et tragœdus succederet: quia, ut Nero cithara, ita Piso tragico ornatu canebat."—*Annal.* lib. xv.

His death took place in the following manner:—Sylvanus the tribune, by order of Nero, surrounded Seneca's magnificent villa near Rome, with a troop of soldiers, and then sent in a centurion to acquaint him with the emperor's orders, that he should put himself to death. On the receipt of this command, he opened the veins of his arms and legs, then was put into a hot bath: this was found ineffectual, and he drank poison: the poison was swallowed in vain, and he was suffocated with the steam of a hot bath. The poison he swallowed was *cicuta.* He called for that particular poison, which was given to criminals at Athens. This shows that philosophical ostentation adhered to him in the agonies of death: for he had thus expressed himself in one of his letters:—"Cicuta magnum Socratem fecit: Catoni gladium assertorem libertatis extorque, magnam partem detraxeris gloriæ."—Ep. 13.

Seneca's wife was permitted to live. But on this catastrophe Juvenal asks, in a passage quoted on a former occasion, if the people were allowed to give their votes freely, who is so lost to all sense of virtue, who so abandoned, as even to doubt whether he should prefer Seneca to Nero? For Nero's many parricides, more than one death is deserved. By the Roman law, a parricide was sewn up in a sack, with a cock, a serpent, an ape, and a dog, and thrown into the sea.

Other ancient authors, as well as Juvenal, who was a diligent reader of Seneca's works, have been lavish of his praises. Martial takes many occasions of mentioning him with some commendatory epithet: —

> Facundi Senecæ potens amicus,
> Caro proximus aut prior Sereno,
> Hic est Maximus ille, quem frequenti
> Felix litera pagina salutat.
> Hunc tu per Siculas secutus undas,
> O nullis, Ovidi, tacende linguis,
> Sprevisti domini furentis iras. Lib. vii. ep. 45.

But this is on the ground of eloquence. Why did St. Jerome saint him? The reason is thus explained by Dr. Ireland, in a communication to Mr. Gifford while translating Juvenal: — "The writer to whom you refer seems to have used the term without much consideration. In Jerome's time, it was applied to Christians at large, as a general distinction from the Pagans. Indeed it was given to those who had not yet received baptism, but who looked forward to it, and were therefore called candidates of the faith. It could be only a charitable extension of this term which

led Jerome to place Seneca among the *sancti*; for he still calls him a Stoic philosopher. The case is, that in the time of Jerome certain letters were extant, which were said to have passed between Seneca and St. Paul. In one of these, the former had expressed a wish, that he were to the Romans what Paul was to the Christians. This Jerome seems to have interpreted as an evangelical sentiment. He therefore placed Seneca among the ecclesiastical writers, and saints;—in other words, he presumptively styled him a Christian, though not born of Christian parents."

The sketch of Seneca's life here given, when checked by the authorities, will not warrant his being ranked in any respect with the first Christian worthies. His early life was confessedly irregular and licentious. This, if sincerely repented of, might be forgiven. But his conduct, after his recall, making allowance for the calumny and wholesale libel of the times, was, to speak of it in measured and negative terms, not altogether commendable. That his philosophical professions had some occasional influence with his imperial pupil, that they did a little towards stemming the torrent of profligacy with the people for a time, we are willing and desirous to concede: but that the practice of the preacher too frequently counteracted the tendency of his preaching, it would be uncandid to deny. Of the later political delinquencies charged against him, he was unquestionably innocent. With respect to Piso's conspiracy, it was the current report at Rome that the conspirators, after having employed Piso to get rid of Nero, meant to destroy Piso himself, and raise

Seneca to the vacant throne; but the conception of such a scheme could have been nothing short of madness. Seneca was at the time old and infirm; and his tamperings in conduct with the virtue he rigidly taught, and with the self-denial he Stoically enforced in his writings as what the wise man could undeniably exemplify, had rendered him too unpopular to make the tenure of the empire safe in his hands for the shortest period of time. In respect of this charge he was shamefully treated. But his personal biography, on the whole, has an unfortunate tendency. Whatever may be thought of his excellencies or defects as a writer, or of the caricature and priggishness of the Stoic sect, he was in his writings an earnest, a highly pretending, and apparently a sincere advocate of ascetic severity. When the professions of such persons are belied by their lives and conduct, the interests of severity cannot fail to suffer. If his ministry was corrupt, his behaviour under Nero's frown was not magnanimous. It is true, he did not abandon his literary pursuits: but his resignation was lip-deep; and his exaggerated affectation of sickness and infirmity, his anxiety about diet and fear of poison, show that his fine reasonings and great calmness when doomed to die, his excellent discourses and ostentation of firmness, had more of theatrical exhibition than of natural and self-possessed reality. His character and his love of Stoical paradox are admirably delineated by Massinger, who had considered him well; and though the quaintness and studied point of his manner had rendered him almost indiscriminately acceptable to the readers and writers of that period, the shrewd old dramatist had

thoroughly appreciated him where he was weak as well as where he was strong. The passage is in the Maid of Honour: —

> Thus Seneca, when he wrote it, thought. — But then
> Felicity courted him; his wealth exceeding
> A private man's; happy in the embraces
> Of his chaste wife Paulina; his house full
> Of children, clients, servants, flattering friends,
> Soothing his lip-positions; and created
> Prince of the senate, by the general voice,
> At his new pupil's suffrage: then, no doubt,
> He held, and did believe, this. But no sooner
> The prince's frowns and jealousies had thrown him
> Out of security's lap, and a centurion
> Had offer'd him what choice of death he pleased,
> But told him, die he must; when straight the armour
> Of his so boasted fortitude fell off,
> [*throws away the book.*
> Complaining of his frailty.

It remains that we consider Seneca as a philosopher and as an author. He was the principal ornament of Stoicism in his day, and a valuable instructor of mankind. If, when commanded to die, neither he nor his nephew Lucan maintained to the utmost the dignity of philosophy, the infirmity of human nature may be pleaded as the excuse. Some little vanity may appear on the scene of Seneca's dissolution; but there was nothing cowardly, and nothing inconsistent. As a writer, he was exactly made of that stuff which invites to controversy. To say that his style was faulty, is to say no more than that he lived after the Augustan age. But perhaps our admiration of pure style, and our desire, by constant contemplation, to

impregnate our own with the same spirit, makes us too exclusive. We shall lose much that is instructive and valuable, if we determine to read nothing which is not perfectly written. Tacitus and Juvenal, as well as Seneca and Lucan, are beyond the pale of best Latinity. Yet who would relinquish the possession of either?

My friend Mr. Hodgson thinks that Quinctilian's character of Seneca is nothing short of absolute condemnation. He asks why he should have been so scrupulous in omitting Seneca's name, while he examined every different style of eloquence, if he intended to attack him at the close of his discussion? I think the spirited and poetical annotator of Juvenal right in his estimate of Seneca to a certain extent: but surely he bears a little hard on Quinctilian, as he avers that the great critic does on his client. In the following passage, which he might possibly have had in his eye, the subject is of minute verbal criticism, and Cicero and Sallust as well as Seneca are brought under his censure: — "Nostri autem, in jungendo aut derivando paullum aliquid ausi, vix in hoc satis recipiuntur. Nam memini juvenis admodum inter Pomponium et Senecam etiam præfationibus esse tractatum, an *gradus eliminat*, apud Accium in Tragœdia, dici oportuisset. At veteres ne *expectorat* quidem timuerunt." — *Quinctilianus*, lib. viii. cap. 3.

Quinctilian again puts him in good company in the following passage on interrogations: — "Interrogamus etiam, quod negari non possit: *Dixitne tandem caussam C. Fidiculanius Falcula?* Aut ubi respondendi difficilis est ratio, ut vulgo uti solemus, *Quo modo? qui fieri potest?* Aut invidiæ gratia,

ut Medea apud Senecam, *Quas peti terras jubes?* Aut miserationis, ut Sinon apud Virgilium,

> *Heu quæ me tellus, inquit, quæ me æquora possunt*
> *Accipere?*

Aut instandi, et auferendæ dissimulationis: ut Asinius, *Audisne? furiosum, inquam, non inofficiosum testamentum reprehendimus.*" — Lib. ix. cap. 2.

Surely the following is neither absolute condemnation nor faint praise: — "Cujus et multæ alioqui, et magnæ virtutes fuerunt: ingenium facile et copiosum, plurimum studii, multarum rerum cognitio: in qua tamen aliquando ab iis, quibus inquirenda quædam mandabat, deceptus est. Tractavit etiam omnem fere studiorum materiam. Nam et orationes ejus, et poemata, et epistolæ, et dialogi feruntur." — Lib. x. cap. 1.

Suetonius, in his Caligula, gives the contradictory opinions of the emperor and of the public, rather than his own: — "Peroraturus, *stricturum se lucubrationis telum*, minabatur: lenius comtiusque scribendi genus adeo contemnens, ut Senecam, tum maxime placentem, *commissiones meras* componere, et, *arenam esse sine calce*, diceret."

The opinion of Aulus Gellius is unfavourable: but his verdict is comparatively of little importance, though the anecdotes in his miscellany pleasantly fill up many a hiatus in the small talk of classical literature. Having already alluded to the representations of Dio, I shall adduce a specimen of the manner in which he has drawn Seneca's character: —Ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις ἐχρημάτιζε, καὶ ἐπιστολὰς καὶ δήμοις καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπέστελλεν· ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτ' ἐγίνετο, ἐδυσχέραινεν ὁ, τε Σενέκας καὶ ὁ Βοῦρρος, φρονιμάτατοί τε ἅμα

καὶ δυναλώταλοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ὄνλες. ὁ μὲν, ἔπαρχος τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ, ὁ δὲ, διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ ἄν· καὶ ἔπαυσαν τὸ γινόμενον, τοιᾶσδε ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι· πρεσβείας Ἀρμενίων ἐλθούσης, καὶ ἡ Ἀγρίππινα ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἀφ' οὗ σφίσιν ὁ Νέρων διελέγελο, ἀναβῆναι ἠθέλησεν· ἰδόνλες οὖν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνοι πλησιάζουσαν, ἔπεισαν τὸν νεανίσκον προκαλαβῆναι καὶ προαπανῆσαι τῇ μηλρὶ, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δεξιώσει τινί· προαχθέντος δὲ τούτου, οὔτε τότε ἐπανῆλθον, ἐμβαλόνλες τινὰ αἰτίαν, ὥσλε μὴ καὶ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους τὸ νόσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκφανῆναι· καὶ μελὰ τοῦτ', ἔπρατλον, ὅπως μηδὲν ἔτ' αὐτῇ ἐπιλρέπῃλαι. καλεργασάμενοι δὲ τούτο, αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν παρέλαβον, καὶ διώκησαν ἐφ' ὅσον ἠδυνήθησαν ἄριςα καὶ δικαιόταλα. Again he says these two ministers so conducted themselves, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ πάνλων ἀνθρώπων ὁμοίως ἐπαινεθῆναι. — Lib. lxi.

There is much doubt hanging about the appropriation of the different works bearing the name of Seneca. Justus Lipsius has a long article on the subject, in which is the following passage: — "L. Annæus Seneca Philosophus patrem habuit nomine et cognomine eodem. Is domo Corduba fuit; professione, Rhetor. Natus ante bellum civile Cæsarianum, supervixit ad Claudii circiter principatum: sine honoribus, et non aliud quam provincialis eques. Is jam senex non dubie filiis suis scripsit, aut dictavit potius, hos qui supersunt Controversiarum et Suasoriarum libros. Sed ut in Plauti fabula, inter duos Menæchmos: sic inter duos Senecas confusione nominum ortus error. Tributa illi, quæ hujus sunt: et claritate nimia filii obscurus pater hodie, imo ignotus. Memoriam boni senis fugitivam (impune hoc dixerim) primus retraham ego. Ejus, inquam, Senecæ hi libri. Doceo ex ætate: quæ patri convenit, disconvenit proli. Doceo ex inscriptione, quæ in omnibus libris, etiam scriptis, concipitur: *L. Annæi Senecæ, ad Senecam,*

Novatum, et Melam Filios. Optime. Inter tres filios quos nominat, Seneca Philosophus est: reliqui ejus fratres. Stemma tale:

L. Annæus Seneca, qui Rhetor. } L. Annæus Seneca, qui Philosophus. Annæus Novatus, aliter Junius Gallio.
Elbia, ejus uxor. } Annæus Mela, sive Mella, pater Lucani."
Electorum, lib. i.

The prose works bearing the name of Seneca are generally printed together, of which the Declamationes, and the Controversiarum Libri are generally taken to have been written by the father. The Tragedies generally form a separate publication, and the authorship remains uncertain; but there seems a strong probability, from the passion of Nero for the stage, and the sarcasms thrown out by the preceptor Seneca's accusers, on his turning poet as a time-serving measure, that at least some of them were written by him. There is however no discrepancy of style, to fix any particular pieces on him, whom with all his faults we may justly denominate the great Seneca. The style indeed is in itself a strong argument of their genuine ascription. It has the defects and the merits of his prose. It is the style which such a prose writer might be supposed to have formed, when he turned his thoughts to poetical composition. With respect to the tragedies themselves, they have all the faults, and more than the faults of their age. They are professedly formed on the model of the Greek tragedies, and in many parts actual translations. But whether translated or only imitated, there is too frequently a bombastic exaggeration of the original. This is the besetting fault: but it is redeemed by many spirited passages, and occa-

sionally by high flights of sublimity. It is however the fashion to abuse these tragedies in the lump. Mr. Hodgson, who "studies his fellow-creatures as well as books," says that thousands have sworn to the opinion of Quinctilian, who could not have construed that opinion into their native language. It may also be safely affirmed, that many abuse Seneca's Tragedies by way of being classical in company, especially if ladies be present, who have never read a word of them. I shall pursue this subject no further than to give a specimen or two of his style: —

Dextra cur patrui vacat?
Nondum Thyestes liberos deflet suos?
Ecquando tollet? Ignibus jam subditis,
Spument ahena: membra per partes eant
Discerpta: patrios polluat sanguis focos:
Epulæ instruantur, non novi sceleris tibi
Conviva venies. Liberum dedimus diem,
Tuamque ad istas solvimus mensas famem.

Thyestes, Actus 1.

En, impudicum crine contorto caput
Læva reflexi. *Hippolytus*, Actus 2.

Discedo, exeo,
Penatibus profugere quam cogis tuis
Ad quos remittis? Phasin et Colchos petam,
Patriumque regnum, quæque fraternus cruor
Perfudit arva? quas peti terras jubes?
Quæ maria monstras? Pontici fauces freti?
Per quas revexi nobiles regum manus,
Adulterum secuta per Symplegadas?
Parvumne Iolcon, Thessala an Tempe, petam?
Quascunque aperui tibi vias, clusi mihi.

Medea, Actus 3.

The passage, "nobiles regum manus," is evidently imitated from Ovid, "Mota manus procerum est." Statius uses *manus* in the sense of a set of servants, in his Sylvæ. As a last example of the author, take the following: —

> Tuque ô magni nata Tonantis
> Inclita Pallas, quæ Dardanias
> Sæpe petisti cuspide turres:
> Te permisto matrona minor
> Majorque choro colit, et reserat
> Veniente dea templa sacerdôs:
> Tibi nexilibus turba coronis
> Redimita venit. *Agamemnon*, Actus 2.

I cannot agree with Mr. Gifford, that Seneca has been "at the Fair of good names, and bought a reasonable commodity of them." On the contrary, I think the critics have sold his name at too low a price; and that the opinion-suckers of the critics often make a market of their shrewdness and discrimination, in lauding the Augustan age at the expense of that which succeeded it, without knowing much about either. The unfavourable opinion of Mr. Gifford himself, however, whose extensive reading and sound judgment both in classical and English literature is scarcely to be matched in the present day, is of far more importance than any thing to be picked up at the Fair. Still, every man has a right to think for himself; and as I, while thinking for myself, think with my before-mentioned friend Mr. Hodgson, I will conclude with transcribing his judgment of Seneca, which is expressed in a much more emphatic manner than any into which I could translate the same opinion. "I think then that Seneca was a deep enquirer into the human heart; that his philo-

sophical observations generally arise from true principles; and that he eminently possesses that first characteristic of genius, the power of lively illustration. His language is often, to my taste, delightful; full of figure and metaphor; by turns playful or severe, as his subject varies. It doubtless is sometimes falsely ornamented; but I cannot think he deserves any thing less than predominating praise from a reader whom he has so much amused."

ON AUSONIUS.

JULIUS AUSONIUS was the father of the poet. He was born in the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux, and settled there as a physician. His wife's name was Æmilia Æonia, daughter of Cecilius Argicius Arborius, who fled into Aquitain, after a proscription by which he was deprived of his estates in Burgundy. Arborius established himself in the city of Acqs on the Adour, and married a woman of genteel birth but no fortune, whose name was Æmilia Corinthia Maura. By this marriage he had one son and three daughters. The son was Æmilius Magnus Arborius. He gave lectures on rhetoric at Toulouse, and took particular care of the poet's education. One of the daughters was married to Julius Ausonius, and had four sons, of whom the poet was the second. Julius Ausonius was a person of great merit. His conduct was marked by the greatest possible consistency. His professional benevolence was unbounded in the admission of gratuitous patients. His hatred of lawsuits was as remarkable as his medical zeal. He neither increased nor diminished his private fortune: he was harassed neither by envy nor ambition: he held swearing and lying to be kindred vices, and believed that he who would do one would do the other. He avoided private conspiracies and public

broils, and satisfied himself with cultivating honourable friendships. He was married forty-five years, and kept his conjugal faith inviolably. His high qualities are recorded with filial piety by his son, in his Epicedion in Patrem suum Julium Ausonium. He is there made to say of himself:—

Judicium de me studui præstare bonorum:
Ipse mihi nunquam, judice me, placui.

Indice me nullus, sed neque teste, perit.

Felicem scivi, non qui, quod vellet, haberet:
Sed qui per fatum non data non cuperet.
Non occursator, non garrulus, obvia cernens,
Valvis et velo condita non adii.
Famam, qua posset vitam lacerare bonorum,
Non finxi: et verum si scierim, tacui.

Deliquisse nihil nunquam laudem esse putavi,
Atque bonos mores legibus antetuli.

He is described as not eloquent in Latin, but sufficiently so in Greek:—

Sermone impromptus Latio: verum Attica lingua
Suffecit culti vocibus eloquii.

He had the honours of several high offices conferred on him as a personal compliment, with an exemption from the labour of exercising them in person. He died at the age of ninety years, without having felt any decay.

Curia me duplex, et uterque Senatus habebat
Muneris exsortem, nomine participem.

Ipse nec affectans, nec detrectator honorum,
Præfectus magni nuncupor Illyrici.

Nonaginta annos baculo sine, corpore toto
Exegi, cunctis integer officiis.

The following couplet of the above, seems to be an elegiac concentration of a glowing and elegant passage in Horace's ninth ode of the fourth book :—

Felicem scivi, non qui, quod vellet, haberet,
Sed qui per fatum non data non cuperet.

Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Recte beatum; rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui Deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti,
Duramque callet pauperiem pati;
Pejusque leto flagitium timet;
Non ille pro caris amicis
Aut patria timidus perire.

Another line bears the appearance of a moral application to a critical remark in the Art of Poetry: —

Deliquisse nihil nunquam laudem esse putavi.

Idcircone vager, scribamque licenter; ut omnes
Visuros peccata putem mea, tutus et intra
Spem veniæ cautus? vitavi denique culpam,
Non laudem merui.

Ausonius celebrates his father also in his Parentalia. The preceding passages are in his Idyllia :—

Non quia fatorum nimia indulgentia: sed quod
Tam moderata illi vota fuere viro.
Quem sua contendit septem Sapientibus ætas;
Quorum doctrinam moribus excoluit:
Viveret ut potiùs, quam diceret arte sophorum,
Quamquam et facundo non rudis ingenio.

Inde et perfunctæ manet hæc reverentia vitæ ;
Ætas nostra illi quod dedit hunc titulum :
Ut nullum Ausonius, quem sectaretur, habebat;
Sic nullum, qui se nunc imitetur, habet.

The elder Ausonius, though not eloquent in Latin, wrote several medical works spoken of with approbation. There is no evidence in the poet, though the fact has been stated, that the father was physician to the emperor Valentinian, before his son was appointed preceptor to Gratian.

The poet's grandfather by his mother's side, Cæcilius Argicius Arborius, was an adept in astrology. He had cast the scheme of his grandson's nativity, and concealed it; but it was ultimately discovered by the mother :—

Tu cœli numeros, et conscia sidera fati
Callebas, studium dissimulanter agens.
Non ignota tibi nostræ quoque formula vitæ,
Signatis quam tu condideras tabulis ;
Prodita non unquam : sed matris cura retexit,
Sedula quam timidi cura tegebat avi.

Arborius had been frequently exposed to the severity of fortune. Among other calamities, his only son died at the age of thirty. He derived consolation from the vista vision of his grandson's honours opened to him by his astrological researches : —

Dicebas sed te solatia longa fovere;
Quod mea præcipuus fata maneret honos.
Et modo conciliis animarum mixte piorum
Fata tui certe nota nepotis habes.
Sentis quod quæstor, quod te præfectus, et idem
Consul, honorifico munere commemoro.

The expression, "Et conscia sidera fati callebas," is taken *verbatim* from Virgil, in one of the finest parts of the Æneid:—

> Ipsa, mola manibusque piis, altaria juxta,
> Unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta,
> Testatur moritura Deos, *et conscia fati*
> *Sidera*; tum, si quod non æquo fœdere amantes
> Curæ numen habet justumque memorque, precatur.

In the above passage, the poet supposes his grandfather's soul not to be unconscious of the fact, nor indifferent to it, that the predictions of the nativity were duly accomplished, and that the prognosticated dignities had been conferred at the emperor's court. In another passage of the Professores, he relapses into scepticism:—

> Et nunc, sive aliquid post fata extrema supersit,
> Vivis adhuc; ævi quod periit, *meminens*:*
> Sive nihil superest, nec habent longa otia sensus,
> Tu tibi vixisti: nos tua fama juvat.

We are told that the good Homer sometimes takes a nap; Ausonius's Christianity must at this moment have been under his nightcap. This passage, and other features of his works, have given rise to an opinion on the part of some writers, that he was a Pagan; and Paulinus has been quoted as having censured him on that ground. As among the epistles to Ausonius, there is one from Paulinus, he shall speak for himself:—

* An abominable participle of the lower ages.

At si forte itidem, quod legi, et quod sequor, audis,
Corda pio vovisse Deo, venerabile Christi
Imperium docili pro credulitate sequentem,
Persuasumque Dei monitis, æterna parari
Præmia mortali, damnis præsentibus emta,
Non reor id sano sic displicuisse Parenti,
Mentis ut errorem credat, sic vivere Christo,
Ut Christus sanxit.

The probability is that, had Ausonius professed Paganism, so holy a man as Paulinus would have earnestly exhorted him to be baptised, and to become a member of the Christian communion. But there is nothing of this kind in the epistle. Yet Brietius, in Syntagmata de Poetis, asserts from the works of Paulinus, as he says, but without mentioning where, and perhaps taking it on hearsay without consulting the original, that he was a heathen: — "Ex Paulino certum est eum Ethnicum fuisse, quare opera Christiana huic adjudicari solita sine dubio alterius sunt." This is one way of filching from a man his good name, and robbing him of his identity as an author. Vossius also is in the same story, De Poet. Lat.: — "Poeta fuit Gentilis, quemadmodum ex Paulino liquet, ut, quæ Christum celebrant, perperam illi sint tributa." It would be hard indeed, on such authority, to take from him the religious part of his collection, especially as those critics have no person in readiness to father the supposed foundlings. The poem in his Ephemeris, of which I shall transcribe the beginning, has been indeed ascribed to Paulinus; but, as the Delphin editor justly observes, unless we be prepared to give up the whole of the Ephemeris, there seems no reason for judging away its most elegant and meritorious

pieces, on no internal evidence, and of external, nothing beyond vague conjecture: —

Omnipotens, solo mentis mihi cognite cultu,
Ignorate malis, et nulli ignote piorum:
Principio, extremoque carens: antiquior ævo,
Quod fuit, aut veniet, cujus formamque modumque
Nec mens complecti poterit, nec lingua profari:
Cernere quem solus, coramque audire jubentem
Fas habet, et patriam propter considere dextram,
Ipse opifex rerum, rebus causa ipse creandis,
Ipse Dei Verbum, Verbum Deus, anticipator
Mundi, quem facturus erat: generatus in illo
Tempore, quo tempus nondum fuit: editus ante
Quam jubar, et rutilus cœlum illustraret Eous:
Quo sine nil actum, per quem facta omnia: cujus
In cœlo solium: cui subdita terra sedenti,
Et mare, et obscuræ chaos insuperabile noctis:
Irrequies, cuncta ipse movens, vegetator inertum:
Non genito genitore Deus, qui fraude superbi
Offensus populi, gentes in regna vocavit,
Stirpis adoptivæ meliore propage colendus:
Cernere quem licuit proavis: quo Numine viso,
Et Patrem vidisse datum: contagia nostra
Qui tulit, et diri passus ludibria leti,
Esse iter æternæ docuit remeabile vitæ:
Nec solam remeare animam, sed corpore toto
Cœlestes intrare plagas, et inane sepulchri
Arcanum vacuis adopertum linquere terris.

The passage, "Cujus in cœlo solium, cui subdita terra sedenti," was evidently suggested by the opening of chap. lxvi. of Isaiah: — "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: where is the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest? For all those things hath mine hand made, and all those things have been, saith the Lord: but to

this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word."

Again, "Quo Numine viso, et Patrem vidisse datum," is translated from chap. xiv. of John: — "Philip saith unto him, Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou, Shew us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself: but the Father, that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works."

The Versus Paschales and other pieces are supposed by many critics not to belong to him, as not being a Christian. Gyraldus has placed the matter in its true light: — "Christianus quidem Ausonius fuit, ut ex ejus versibus, et item Paulini ejus discipuli facile colligimus: sed petulantior tamen, et lascivior, quam ut inter Christianos numerari dignus sit." — *De Poetarum Historia*, dialogus x.

The poems to which this last censure particularly applies are his Epigrams, and his Cento Nuptialis. The charge is repeated by Scaliger the Father, who thought that nothing but the fire was capable of purging some of the epigrams. Father Brietius, influenced perhaps by the same zeal for morality, refuses him Christian fellowship. * But if the offence here so deservedly condemned is to disqualify a man from the profession of a Christian, we must not only shut up our Aristophanes, our

* Rittershusius acknowledges he was a Christian, but denounces him as a monster.

Terence, and our Horace, as readers, but we must excommunicate a large majority of Christian poets, not only in the coarse, though brilliant age of Elizabeth, but in the progressively refining periods of Anne, and the third and fourth Georges. Those who have genuinely pure minds will know where to turn over the leaves which contain the false coin; for there is always in the title or the general subject something to indicate what is coming: but they need not throw away the pure ore with the dross. Nothing can excuse this offence. Pope has told us that want of decency is want of sense, and has often exemplified his own precept. The situation of Ausonius at court is the most admissible excuse for the Cento Nuptialis, his most serious crime. He was aware of the blame he should incur, and professes his reluctance to undertake the task. As he makes the best of his own case, we will apologise for him in his own words: — "Piget enim Virgiliani carminis dignitatem tam joculari dehonestasse materia. Sed quid facerem? Jussum erat: quodque est *potentissimum imperandi genus*, rogabat, qui jubere poterat, S. Imperator Valentinianus, vir meo judicio eruditus: qui nuptias quondam ejusmodi ludo descripserat, aptis equidem versibus et compositione festiva. Experiri deinde volens, quantum nostra contentione præcelleret, simile nos de eodem concinnare præcepit. Quam scrupulosum hoc mihi fuerit, intellige. Neque anteferri volebam, neque posthaberi: quum aliorum quoque judicio detegenda esset adulatio inepta, si cederem: insolentia, si ut æmulus eminerem. Suscepi igitur similis recusanti: feliciterque obnoxius gratiam tenui, nec victor offendi."

The culprit has surely in some degree extenuated his misdeed by the modesty of his apology, by the elegance of his prose at so late a period of the Latin language, and above all by his masterly exposition of the distresses under which a court-poet labours, when "the Manager writes himself." Modern courts are too refined and too pious ever to admit the approach of contamination in word or deed: but should it ever be our lot to have a third Charles like the second, it might puzzle a laureate to maintain his sanctity. The beforementioned *potentissimum imperandi genus* is a powerful thumb-screw; and might extort dithyrambics from a psalm-singer. But the whole court on this occasion must have *run a-muck;* for Valentinian himself, who forced his laureate from his proprieties by compelling him to contend for the prize, was a person, in his general habits, of strictness and gravity, of modesty and chastity. Such is the character given of him by Ammianus Marcellinus: — "Omni pudicitiæ cultu domi castus et foris, nullo contagio conscientiæ violatus obscenæ, nihil incestum: hancque ob causam tamquam retinaculis petulantiam frenarat aulæ regalis: quod custodire facile poterat, necessitudinibus suis nihil indulgens, quas aut in otio reprimebat, aut mediocriter honoravit, absque patre: quem temporis compulsus augustiis, in amplitudinis suæ societatem adsumpsit." — Lib. xxx. cap. 10.

But to return to the charge of Paganism: there is no evidence of it either in these obliquities or in Paulinus. On the contrary, in the epistle of Ausonius *Paulino suo*, though it may intimate that the courtier thought the monastic seclusion too nearly allied to misanthropy, there is none of that scoff

which an unbeliever would have been likely to throw into the treatment of the subject: —

> Tristis, egens, deserta colat: tacitusque pererret
> Alpini convexa jugi: cui dicitur olim
> Mentis inops, cœtus hominum, et vestigia vitans,
> Avia perlustrasse vagus loca Bellerophontes.

It is also stated, that Ausonius was not only indebted to his uncle for his education, but that his early morals and opinions were superintended by two of his aunts, who were nuns. Whether this be an unquestionable fact in history, may not perhaps at this distance of time be easily decided. But supposing it to be so, it settles the question. Christianity was now triumphantly established; and the instances were few, if any, of Christian children becoming Pagans when they arrived at maturity. It has been suggested that Claudian as well as Ausonius were influenced by Symmachus to abjure the Christian faith; and St. Augustin is quoted for the fact. St. Augustin says nothing about Ausonius, but does say that Claudian was attached to Paganism. There is no evidence that Claudian ever was a Christian. The seven letters of Symmachus which appear in front of the Delphin edition of Ausonius, prove friendship, but nothing more: the friendship produced by conformity of literary tastes and pursuits; not the attachment of brother sectaries. At all events, a strong inference on the subject is to be derived from the unquestionable position, that the morality of Ausonius when in a grave temper of mind, though for poetical purposes referring to Pythagoras and the ancient sages of Greece, was worthy of a better system.

In evidence of this, we may refer to one of the Idyllia, beginning thus: —

> Vir bonus, et sapiens, qualem vix repperit unum
> Millibus e multis hominum consultus Apollo,
> Judex ipse sui, totum se explorat ad unguem.

Ausonius tells us, in his Gratiarum Actio, that he was made prefect of the Prætorium by the Emperor Gratian: — "Tot gradus nomine Comitis propter tria incrementa congestis ex tuo merito, te ac patre principibus, Quæstura communis: et tui tantum Præfectura beneficii, quæ et ipsa non vult vice simplici gratulari, liberalius divisa quam juncta: quum teneamus duo integrum, neuter desideret separatum."

Ausonius was consul in 379, and, to give one halfpenny worth of the bread of chronology with all this critical sack, he lived to the year 394 or thereabouts. His advancement to the prefecture of the Prætorium of Italy had taken place in 376, five months after the death of the Emperor Valentinian. His son Hesperius was his colleague. Ausonius was made prefect of the Prætorium in Gaul about the same time; and in 377 Ausonius executed the office in Italy, and Antonius in Gaul. In 378 Antonius acted in Italy, Ausonius and his son in Gaul; and they did not resign till 380. The following passage occurs in the Idyllia: —

> Quique suas rexere urbes, purumque tribunal
> Sanguine, et innocuas illustravere secures;
> Aut Italum populos, aquilonigenasque Britannos
> Præfecturarum titulo tenuere secundo.

This is not spoken of himself; for the poem was written in the time of Valentinian; and Ausonius did not come into the office of prefect till after the death of that emperor.

Scaliger says in his Life of Ausonius: — "Hoc itaque tanto viro nascitur Burdegalæ *Decius Magnus Ausonius* nomine avi materni, cognomine patris." This is a mistake between the uncle and the grandfather. The grandfather of Ausonius by the mother's side was Cæcilius Argicius Arborius. He left one son, Æmilius Magnus Arborius. The two nuns were his aunts, Æmilia Hilaria by the mother's side, Julia Cataphronia by the father's.

After all the controversy which has taken place about the morality or immorality, the Paganism or Christianity, of Ausonius, his works speak sufficiently for themselves. When he professed to write gravely, he wrote piously and even theologically, as a long extract in this article will show: for there is no reason for taking it from him. When called on by the court, he wrote up to its temper; and when he wrote sportively, he explains himself thus: —

Admoneo, ante bibas.
Jejunis nil scribo. Meum post pocula si quis
Legerit, hic sapiet.

ON THE CHARACTER OF CINNA.

Vix quidquam in Sullæ operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod, cum per triennium Cinnanæ Marianæque partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec, quod erat in manibus, omisit: existimavitque ante frangendum hostem, quam ulciscendum civem; repulsoque externo metu, ubi, quod alienum esset, vicisset, superavit quod erat domesticum.—PATERCULUS, lib. ii. cap. 24.

CORNELIUS CINNA was a patrician, but attached to the party of the people. Sylla, when he made him consul, had the precaution to administer a solemn oath to him, by which he pledged himself to support his new patron's interest. How likely he was to feel himself encumbered by such an obligation, may be gathered from the character given of him by Paterculus: — "Cinna, seditione orta, ab exercitu interemtus est; vir dignior, qui arbitrio victorum moreretur, quam iracundia militum: de quo vere dici potest, ausum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse, quæ a nullo nisi fortissimo perfici possent; et fuisse in consultando temerarium, in exsequendo virum." Appian gives the following account of the effect produced on the opposite party by his appointment: —Οἱ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων φίλοι, Κίννᾳ τῷ μετὰ Σύλλαν ὑπατεύοντι θαρροῦντες, τοὺς νεοπολίτας ἠρέθιζον ἐς τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Μαρίου, ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀξιοῦν ἀναμιχθῆναι,

ἵνα μὴ τελευταῖοι ψηφιζόμενοι πάντων ὦσιν ἄκυροι. . . Ἀνθισταμένων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ κράτος, Κίννας μὲν τοῖς νεοπολίταις συνέπρατ̃ε, νομιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷδε τριακόσια δωροδοκῆσαι τάλαντα· τοῖς δ' ἀρχαίοις ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος Ὀκταούϊος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν προλαβόντες τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων, ἐθόων, ἐς τὰς φυλὰς πάσας ἀναμιγῆναι· τὸ δὲ καθαρώτερον πλῆθος ἐς τὸν Ὀκταούϊον ἐχώρει, καὶ οἵδε μετὰ ξιφιδίων. . . . ὧν Ὀκταούϊος πυθόμενος, καθέβαινε διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ μετὰ πυκνοῦ πάνυ πλήθους· καὶ οἷα χειμάρρους ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμπεσών, ἄσταλο μὲν διὰ μέσων τῶν συνεστώτων, καὶ διέστησεν αὐτούς· ὡς δὲ καθέπληξεν, ἐς τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν παρῆλθε, τὸν Κίνναν ἐκλιπαρούμενος. Κίννας δὲ, θαρρήσας μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεοπολιτῶν, καὶ βιάσεσθαι προσδοκήσας, παρὰ δόξαν δ' ὁρῶν τὸ τόλμημα τῶν ὀλιγαλέρων ἐπικρατοῦν, ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔθει, τοὺς θεράποντας ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ συγκαλῶν. . . Ταῦτα δ' ἐργαζομένῳ τε καὶ ἐπινοοῦντι τῷ Κίννᾳ προσέφυγον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς οἵ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐφρόνουν, Γάϊος τε Μιλώνιος, καὶ Κόϊντος Σερτώριος, καὶ Γάϊος Μάριος ἕτερος. Ἡ μὲν δὴ βουλὴ τὸν Κίνναν, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν καταλιπόντα ὕπατον, καὶ δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν κηρύξαντα, ἐψηφίσατο μήτε ὕπατον μήτε πολίτην ἔτι εἶναι· καὶ Λεύκιον Μερόλαν ἐχειροτόνησαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διός. — *Romanar. Histor. De Bellis Civilibus*, lib. i.

The same events are also recorded by Plutarch in his Sertorius: — Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάριος μὲν ὑπὸ Σύλλα κραθεὶς ἔφευγε, Σύλλας δὲ Μιθριδάτῃ πολεμήσων ἀπῆρεν, τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων, Ὀκτάβιος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Σύλλα προαιρέσεως ἔμενεν, Κίννας δὲ νεωτερίζων ὑποφερομένην ἀνεκαλεῖτο τὴν Μαρίου σάσιν. . . . . γενομένης δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάχης μεγάλης, Ὀκτάβιος μὲν ἐκράτησεν, Κίννας δὲ καὶ Σερτώριος οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάττους τῶν μυρίων ἀποβαλόντες ἔφυγον· . . . Μαρίου δὲ καταπλεύσαντος ἐκ Λιβύης, καὶ τῷ Κίννᾳ προσπιθέντος ἑαυτὸν, ὡς ἰδιάτην ὑπάτῳ, Σερτώριος ἀπηγόρευεν· εἴτε τὸν Κίνναν ἧττον οἰόμενος ἑαυτῷ προσέξειν, ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονικωτέρου παρόντος, εἴτε τὴν βαρύτητα τοῦ Μαρίου δεδοικὼς, μὴ πάντα τὰ πράγματα συγχέῃ, θυμῷ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχοντι πέρα δίκης ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν προεχόμενος. . . . . εἰκότως δὲ τοῦ

Κίννα, ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ὑπολογίζεσθαι τὸν Σερτώριον, αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ διαπορεῖν ὅπως ἀπώσεται τὸν Μάριον αὐτὸς, ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πραγμάτων κεκληκώς, Sertorius assented, τῆς πίστεως μηδενὶ λογισμῷ χώραν διδούσης. οὕτως μεταπέμπεται τὸν Μάριον Κίννας· καὶ τριχῇ τῆς δυνάμεως διανεμηθείσης ἦρχον οἱ τρεῖς. διαπολεμηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον ἐμφορουμένων ὕβρεώς τε καὶ πικρίας ἀπάσης, . . . Σερτώριος λέγεται μόνος οὔτε ἀποκλαῖναί τινα πρὸς ὀργὴν, οὔτε ἐνυβρίσαι κραιπνῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Μαρίῳ δυσχεραίνειν, καὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἐντυγχάνων ἰδίᾳ καὶ δεόμενος μετριώτερον ποιεῖν. . . . Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάριος μὲν ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ Κίννας ἀνηρέθη μικρὸν ὕστερον, ὁ δὲ νεανίας Μάριος ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπατείαν ἔλαβεν, Κάρβωνες δὲ καὶ Νορβανοὶ καὶ Σκιπίωνες ἐπιόντι Σύλλᾳ κακῶς ἐπολέμουν.

After the decree of the senate against Cinna, he repaired to Capua, where a Roman army was stationed, and gained the officers who commanded it to his interest. With their sanction, the troops were convened. Cinna attended the meeting without the fasces, in the habit of a private man. This histrionic manœuvre procured him an oath of fidelity both from the officers and the common men.

An extraordinary circumstance is related to have happened in the course of this war: — "In quo bello duo fratres, alter ex Pompeii exercitu, alter ex Cinnæ, ignorantes concurrerunt: et, quum victor spoliaret occisum, agnito fratre, ingenti lamentatione edita, . . . ipse supra rogum se transfodit." —*Liv.* epit. 79. The historian goes on to say that Cinna and Marius, with four armies, two of which were commanded by Sertorius and Carbo, laid siege to the city of Rome.

It is to be noted, that young Marius joined his father when they left Africa, and sailed for Italy on Cinna's invitation.

With Cinna's invitation, he had given the elder Marius the title of proconsul, and had sent him the fasces and other badges of that dignity. During the operations against Rome, Cinna sent a party of soldiers to take possession of Ariminum, that no assistance might be sent from Gaul. Appius Claudius, to whom the guard of Janiculum had been intrusted, received Marius and Cinna into the place; but they were driven out again by Pompeius Strabo and Octavius the consul. But Metellus was so much better a general than Octavius, that the soldiers of the latter proposed to transfer their services to the former. Metellus reproved them severely, and commanded them to return to the consul; but instead of obeying, they went over to the other party.

Cinna had recourse to his old expedient: he proclaimed liberty to all the slaves in the city who should join him. As might naturally be expected, they flocked to him in crowds. The senate became greatly alarmed. The people were suffering much from the failure of their provisions, which seemed likely to produce general discontent. They therefore sent deputies to Cinna, and made an ineffectual attempt to negociate a peace. On the termination of the conference, Cinna advanced and encamped under the walls. The senate were entirely at a loss how to act, in consequence of their unwillingness to depose Merula, who had been appointed consul in the room of Cinna. Merula voluntarily laid down his office, to remove all possible impediment in the way of the public tranquillity. The senate immediately sent a fresh commission to Cinna, with directions to acknowledge him as consul. At the conference Marius was standing close

to Cinna's tribunal. Cinna soon afterwards entered Rome; but Marius stopped at the gate, saying with gloomy and inauspicious sternness, that he was an exile, and forbidden to enter the city by the laws. If the people wanted his presence, they must repeal the sentence of banishment against him. It does not appear as if Cinna and Marius were on very good terms at this juncture; but community of crime and cruelty soon reconciled them.—Ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὸν Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον συνεδρεύσαντες μετὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἡγεμόνων ἐβουλεύοντο, ὅπως βεβαίως καταστήσωσι τὴν εἰρήνην· τέλος ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ δυναμένους ἀμφισβητῆσαι περὶ πραγμάτων, πάντας ἀποκτεῖναι· ὅπως καθαρᾶς γενομένης τῆς ἰδίας αἱρέσεως καὶ μερίδος, ἀδεῶς τὸ λοιπὸν, καὶ ὡς ἂν βούλωνται, μετὰ τῶν φίλων διοικοῦσι τὰ καλὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. — *Ecloga ex libro Diodori*, 38.

Cinna at a subsequent period commanded the officers to declare him consul a third time, without even the formality of holding the comitia. He and his colleague Carbo continued themselves in the consulship the year following, 669, and 83 before Christ. Suetonius gives the following account of his daughter's marriage with Julius Cæsar: —"Julius Cæsar Divus, annum agens sextum decimum, patrem amisit: sequentibusque consulibus, dimissa Cossutia, quæ, familia equestri, sed admodum dives, prætextato desponsata fuerat, Corneliam Cinnæ quater consulis filiam, duxit uxorem, ex qua illi mox Julia nata est; neque ut repudiaret compelli a Dictatore Sulla ullo modo potuit."—Cap. 1.

Great preparations were made against the Proconsul Sylla, but they made no impression on his courage or resolution. He wrote a letter to the senate, enumerating all his great actions, from the period of his quæstorship up to that of the consul-

ate, against the Numidians, the Cimbri, and the Italians. He related his victories over Mithridates with much amplification, and expatiated largely on the number of nations he had reduced to obedience and allegiance to the republic. But on nothing did he value himself so highly, as that his camp had been an asylum for those of the Roman citizens, whom Cinna's cruel and profligate conduct had driven into banishment. The senate seems at this time to have lost all its firmness; and as it was dragooned into suffering Merula to abdicate, for the purpose of making terms with Cinna, so now this haughty and ostentatious letter produced the intended effect of intimidation. Cinna promised to obey the order, to raise no more troops while the negotiation with Sylla was pending. But practice makes perfect: and Cinna was a promise-breaker of long standing and repeated experience. No sooner had the deputies taken their departure from Rome, than the consuls made a progress through Italy. They enlisted soldiers, and formed different armies to oppose their enemy. But Cinna's career was to be closed abruptly, with what critics call poetical justice, and plain men look at as moral retribution. Some of the newly raised levies refused to embark for Dalmatia. Cinna assembled them, and threatened to enforce obedience. The soldiers, who could not expect such a breach of discipline to be forgiven by so vindictive a man, mutinied, and murdered him. It is stated by Plutarch, that in addition to the obvious motives for this mutiny, the hatred entertained against Cinna was enhanced by the suspicion that he had murdered Pompey, who lived to experience many vicissitudes, and to acquire the title of the Great.

A circumstance is related respecting Cinna's conduct in his last moments, which points his tale with an important moral. To take a prominent part in civil broils, and to commit great personal crimes, both involve the necessity of strong nerves: but they do not necessarily imply mental courage of the genuine kind. Cinna, in his flight on the breaking out of the sedition, was overtaken by a centurion. That officer was the man who slew him: but Cinna attempted to purchase the remission of the unauthorised sentence by falling on his knees, and offering a seal ring of great value as the price of his life.

ON THE TITLES AND MYTHOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF MERCURY.

I HAVE already alluded to the practice of *sentimental swearing* among the Greeks. No people ever so appropriately suited the action to the word, the word to the action, the sound to the sense. Dealers in horse-flesh would never think of swearing by any one but Neptune: the flaxen-headed ploughboy invoked Ceres: the sly chapman prayed to Mercury, to superintend his buyings and sellings in the market. But Mercury, like those of his disciples who grace the dock at the Old Bailey, tacked an *alias* to the end of his name, according to the occasion or the place. When the man of business wanted him, he was Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος, so named from ἀγορὰ, *the market place*. A statue of stone was raised to him in a city of Achaia called Pharæ, and he delivered oracular answers under a title suited to the occasion. What gave curiosity to this particular statue, was the unusual circumstance of its having a beard. A low altar of stone was placed before the statue, on which stood vases of brass soldered with lead to receive those contributions, so necessary to give flexibility to the mysterious tongue.

Another of his employments was to preside over sleep and dreams; the night, and all that belonged to it. After praying to all the rest of the gods,

men addressed Mercury last, and called upon him to send them a night of good dreams, as ὕπνου δολὴρ. In the eighth book of Homer's Odyssey is the following passage :—

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἑρμῖσιν χέε δέσμαΐα κύκλῳ ἀπάνῃ·
Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καθύπερθε μελαθρόφιν ἐξεκέχυντο,
Ἠΰτ' ἀράχνια λεπτὰ, τά κ' οὐ κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο
Οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων· πέρι γὰρ δολόεντα τέτυκτο.

On the word ἑρμῖσιν, the scholiast gives this explanation :—Τοῖς ποσὶ τῆς κλίνης. Ἕρμα γὰρ ὥσπερ εἰσὶ τῆς κλίνης παρὰ τὸ ἐνείρεσθαι. But Eustathius furnishes us with a better etymology in reference to Mercury as the giver of sleep. Considering him in this capacity, they carved his images on the feet of the bed, and called them ἑρμῖνες directly from his name. This seems a closer derivation than that of the scholiast, and still further appropriate as connecting the god of roguery with this humourous detection.

Another of his titles was Χθόνιος, the *Infernal*, probably in allusion to the power of vegetation : for seeds of every kind were dedicated to him, and carefully preserved in a pot ; and the people scrupulously abstained from making them articles of food. This particular consecration seems to have been a device of policy, to intimidate them from the premature waste of those productions, on which future subsistence and plenty were entirely to depend.

Mercury was also Πομπαῖος, an epithet denoting a person conducting another on his way. In this capacity, he was master of the ceremonies to Pluto,

and introduced the souls of the deceased to the shades below. Ajax, in Sophocles, addresses the following prayer to Mercury before he stabs himself:—

Καλῶ δ' ἅμα
Πομπαῖον Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον εὖ με κοιμίσαι,
Ξὺν ἀσφαδάστῳ καὶ ταχεῖ πηδήματι,
Πλευρὰν διαῤῥήξαντα τῷδε φασγάνῳ.

In the Agamemnon of Æschylus, Cassandra makes a nearly similar prayer, without the direct mention of Mercury:—

Ἄϊδου πύλας δὲ τὰς λέγω, προσεννέπω.
Ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καιρίας πληγῆς τυχεῖν,
Ὡς ἀσφάδαστος, αἱμάτων εὐθυπτίμων
Ἀποῤῥυέντων, ὄμμα συμβάλω τόδε.

Ἑρμαια was a festival in honour of Ἑρμῆς, Mercury, recorded by Pausanias, in Arcadicis, to have been celebrated in Arcadia, as by the Cyllenians in Elis. In a celebration observed by the Tanagræans in Bœotia, Mercury bore the title of Κριόφορος, the Ram-bearer, and was represented with a ram upon his shoulder. The explanation of this emblem is understood to be, that in a season when the plague prevailed, he paraded the city with that burden, and cured all patients who applied to him. In memory of that deliverance, it became the custom for one of the most elegant young men in the city to perambulate the walls with a lamb or a ram upon his shoulders. Another festival of Mercury was observed in the gymnastic schools of Athens, of which I am, according to academic phrase, *in private duty bound* to make honourable

mention. It was what in our public schools is called *a holyday without exercise:* the boys of course played at something resembling cricket; and the master's presence was not considered to spoil sport. But if by any momentary forgetfulness of the conditions, he brought into the arena an old fellow like himself, the established law was, that he should undergo the discipline he on ordinary occasions inflicted.

We have already observed, that Mercury was appointed to the office of conveying the ghosts to the regions below; and that for the reason therein involved, the dying made supplication to him in their last agonies. Valerius Maximus tells a story of a Cean matron, who determined to shorten the miseries of life by a dose of poison. But neither piety nor policy would allow her to approach that undiscovered country, from whose bourn no traveller returns, without a solemn petition to Mercury for easy stages, and a comfortable lodging at the end of her journey. Prayers to this effect were sometimes offered to Mercury, and sometimes to other gods; and travelling prayers were always conceived in the same form, whether before a temporary journey to and fro, a permanent change of residence, or a final departure from the world.

But the outward-bound were not the only votaries of Mercury. Those who had only accompanied their departing friends to the coast were enlisted as tributary. At Argos, the surviving kindred or acquaintance sacrificed to Apollo, soon after they had put on their new mourning; and at the end of thirty days they performed the same homage to Mercury. The rationality of this proceeding, if there be any in it, is this: they con-

ceived that the earth received the body, but that Mercury received the soul. The barley of the sacrifice they gave to the minister of Apollo; the meat they took to themselves. Having extinguished the sacrificial fire, which they accounted to be polluted if they turned it to any secular or gastronomical account, they kindled another, over which they broiled their dinner, and devoutly snuffed the fumes as they ascended.

But we have advanced thus far without letting the reader into the birth, parentage, and education of our hero. History gives him out to be the son of Jupiter and Maia, which lady was the daughter of Atlas. His office was that of messenger to Jupiter and the other gods. Eloquence was under his immediate patronage. We have already seen that merchants, and of course the profits of trade, were his peculiar care. A whimsical etymology is given for the translation of Hermes into Mercurius: as if the Latin name were a syncopised abbreviation of Medicurrius, *medius currebat* between gods and men. This surely places him very much in the situation of Francis, in Henry the Fourth: — "Anon, anon, Sir!" Mr. Greatorex, the Timotheus of the present day, will know him for the inventor of the lyre and of the harp. Sir Walter Scott, Mr. Moore, Mr. Southey, Mr. Wordsworth, Mr. Hodgson, Mr. Merivale and the late Mr. Bland of *anthological renown*, will recognise him as the patron *mercurialium virorum*, of poets and men of genius. The leader of the opera band will hail him as the first practical musician, and the champion of England as the founder of the fancy.

But the columns of our newspapers on the morning after St. George's day bear witness, that the

public care little about the persons or offices of the courtiers, unless they be made acquainted with their dresses. I therefore give notice to the hatters whom it may concern, that his *petasus* was a winged cap. I am not sure that the full-dressed hats of the actors on the Théâtre François furnish a correct pattern of the article. He would certainly employ Hoby to furnish his *talaria*, if winged sandals were still in fashion; and if feet were not likely to accept the Chiltern Hundreds in favour of rail-roads. His *caduceus* was a wand; *virga*, the pedagogue calls it; with two serpents about it. "Something too much of this!" As the god of merchants, and an officer to walk before the Lord Chancellor, he bears a purse.

> Hic petit Euphraten juvenis, domitique Batavi
> Custodes aquilas, armis industrius: at tu
> Nil nisi Cecropides, truncoque simillimus Hermæ:
> Nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine, quam quod
> Illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.
>
> *Juvenal.* sat. 8.

A statue of Hermès was religiously set up against the houses at Athens, of a cubic form, without hands or feet. This was called Herma. The figures here described were merely rough-hewn square stones, technically called termes, set upright; but however shapeless the posts, the heads with which they were surmounted were of marble. Hermes also was used as a direction-post. He had no fingers, ours have no heads. The general opinion is, that the Greek name of the god was derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑρμηνεύειν, which means to show, or explain; and thence some of his attributes at least, among the rest that of standing by the roadside to

direct puzzled wayfarers. But Mr. Gifford is of opinion that this last office has reference to some obscure idea of his being the same deity with the Sun. We may indeed infer that it requires some light to be a direction-post, from the proverb *Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*: Every one cannot become a good schoolmaster. I am afraid the proverb will equally apply to the pupils.

It is obvious why the tongues of the animals sacrificed were peculiarly devoted to Mercury.

His other titles were, Στροφαῖος, in which he seems to have been the prototype of our renowned Jonathan Wilde, combining the offices of thief, thief-taker, and gaoler; Ἐμπολαῖος, Κερδαῖος, Δόλιος, Ἡγεμόνιος, Ἐναγώνιος, Διάκτορος, Ἐριούνιος, and in his capacity of gentleman usher to Pluto, Χθόνιος and Καταβάτης,

Cum multis aliis, quæ nunc perscribere longum est.

ON THE MYTHOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF RHADAMANTHUS.

Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna;
Castigatque, auditque dolos; subigitque fateri,
Quæ quis apud superos, furto lætatus inani,
Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.

Æneis, vi. 566.

THIS distinguished public character in legal biography commenced practice in Crete. He gained considerable reputation by honourable conduct towards his clients, and a trick peculiar to himself, of impartiality in the distribution of justice. The career of honour in those simple and half-civilised days, was exactly the converse of ours: eminent men, instead of rising from the courts below to those above, descended from those above to those below. Rhadamanthus was accordingly promoted to the bench in that place, which in ancient times was not considered to bear a name offensive to polite ears. His Court of King's Bench was composed of three judges; ours of four. Pindar refers to this tribunal in his Olympic:—

Τὰ δ' ἐν τᾷδε Διὸς ἀρχᾷ
Ἀλιῤῥὰ, καλὰ γᾶς δικά-
ζει τις, ἐχθρᾷ λόγον φράσαις ἀνάγκᾳ.

Βουλαῖς ἐν ὀρθαῖς Ῥαδαμάνθυος,
Ὃν παῖδ' ἔχει Κρόνος ἕτοι-
μον αὐτῷ πάρεδρον,
Πόσις ὁ πάντων Ῥέας
Ὑπέρλαιον ἐχοίσας θρόνον.

ON THE MYTHOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF PLUTO.

THE common sense of Pluto's character is, that he first instructed the Greeks in the decencies of funerals, and showed them how to perform the last offices to the deceased. In the early ages of mankind, every new invention to improve the insufficient comforts of life, every suggestion of improvement in morality, every advance towards refinement in manners, every suggestion of better feeling was made the subject of a fable. These inventions were partly stimulated by restless ingenuity, at a loss for subjects to work upon; partly by the eagerness of gratitude to pay the debt due to the first benefactors and civilisers of our species. In the case before us, a fictitious empire in the shades below was assigned to this teacher of a pious duty, of an extent and vastness with which no mortal monarch could compete. Universal sovereignty, over such a portion of the earth as was then ripe to admit of the restraints and benefits of government, would have allowed of a very limited range: they therefore constituted him monarch of the dead; not so much of regions as of ages. He was the brother of Jupiter. He was called *Orcus;* and in relation to his pedigree, *Jupiter infernus*, or *Stygius*. Proserpina was his wife; the daughter of Ceres. He possessed himself of her by forcible abduction, as she was gathering flowers in the Si-

cilian plain of Enna. This splendid marriage conferred on her the title of *Juno inferna*, or *Stygia*. There is considerable confusion between her attributes, and those of Hecate and Luna. The latter is the same with Diana. All these goddesses preside over sorceries and incantations.

Neptune made up the triumvirate brotherhood, all sons of Saturn. In the division of the father's kingdom, Pluto had the western portion. As the most extravagant fables have some foundation in history or tradition, the apparent descent of the sun and the succession of darkness gave rise to the poetical imagination of gloomy regions, over which this emperor of the west was supposed to bear sway. His Latin name is *Dis*, which is merely a contraction of *dives*, analogous to the Greek, Πλοῦτος and Πλούτων: so that the noble pupil was right in treating *Pluto* as synonymous with *Plutus*; and Dr. Pangloss was impertinently pedantic in his correction. Sacrifices and lustrations were performed to him in the month of February, for a reason given by Servius: — "Februus autem est Ditis pater, cui eo mense sacrificatur." Cicero makes good use of his character, in its unfavourable point of view, against Verres:—"Hic dolor erat tantus, ut Verres, alter Orcus, venisse Ennam, et non Proserpinam asportasse, sed ipsam abripuisse Cererem videretur."—Act. ii. lib. 4.

His title of Summanus is supposed to be a contraction of *Summus manium*.

Reddita, quisquis is est, Summano templa feruntur,
Tum, cum Romanis, Pyrrhe, timendus eras.
Ovid. Fastorum, 6.

ON A SENTIMENT IN CATULLUS.

THOUGH I may have been disposed to apologise for Ausonius, in consideration of the extreme *naïveté* with which he represents the imperial attempt to be poet as well as patron, and the timid nicety with which he adjusts the balance between the tact of the courtier and the fame of the poet, I again protest against any general indulgence on this head. With respect to *expurgatæ editiones*, they are objectionable in point of policy, as only tending to inflame curiosity, and render that a matter of research, which might otherwise be glanced over hastily. I am led to revert to the subject, by a most profligate as well as illogical passage in Catullus, a poet too popular not to be dangerous:—

> Castum esse decet pium poetam
> Ipsum; versiculos nihil necesse est:
> Qui tum denique habent salem ac leporem,
> Si sunt molliculi, ac parum pudici.

This is carrying the doctrine to its utmost extent: that freedom is not only venial, but meritorious and of the first necessity. On what ground the poet's conduct ought to be so decorous, when his very profession compels him to teach licentiousness *ex cathedra*, it may not be easy to explain.

This abominable sentiment has been often echoed, as for instance, by Martial. We all know the first to be true, but who will believe the last?—

> Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba.

Again more at full, in his epigram *ad Cornelium*:—

> Quid si me jubeas Thalassionem
> Verbis dicere non Thalassionis?
> Quis Floralia vestit, et stolatum
> Permittit meretricibus pudorem?
> Lex hæc carminibus data est jocosis,
> Ne possint, nisi pruriant, juvare.
> Quare, deposita severitate,
> Parcas lusibus et jocis, rogamus;
> Nec castrare velis meos libellos. Lib. i. epig. 36.

Ovid was sure to adopt the tenets of such a school:—

> Crede mihi distant mores a carmine nostri,
> Vita verecunda est, Musa jocosa mihi.

Tully was of a directly opposite opinion: and though the following precept be more immediately directed against a fault of a different nature, it is equally applicable to the subject in question, both in his opinion and in the nature of things; and it is a subject of congratulation, that the public mind of the present day goes with the more correct doctrine, as evinced by the almost entire banishment of indelicate dramas from the modern stage:—"In primisque provideat, ne sermo vitium aliquod indicet inesse in moribus: quod maxime tum solet evenire, cum studiose de absentibus, detrahendi causa, aut per ridiculum, aut severe, maledice contumelioseque dicitur."—*De Officiis*, lib. i. So far

is this author from believing that he shall have credit for his deeds whose words are offensive to good morals, that he in effect chimes in with the doctrine of a more holy school: Out of his own mouth shall a man be judged.

EQUIVOQUES AND AMPHIBOLOGIES.

Nullum esse verbum quod non sit ambiguum. — Cic. *de Oratore*, lib. ii.

There is a striking passage on this subject in the oratio *pro Cœcina* : — "An non, cum voluntas, et consilium, et sententia interdicti intelligatur, impudentiam summam, aut stultitiam singularem putabimus, in verborum errore versari : rem, et causam, et utilitatem communem non relinquere solum, sed etiam prodere? An hoc dubium est, quin neque verborum tanta copia sit, non modo in nostra lingua, quæ dicitur esse inops : sed ne in alia quidem ulla, res ut omnes suis certis ac propriis vocabulis nominentur? neque vero quidquam opus sit verbis, cum ea res, cujus causa verba quæsita sint, intelligatur? Quæ lex, quod senatusconsultum, quod magistratus edictum, quod fœdus, aut pactio, quod (ut ad privatas res redeam) testamentum : quæ judicia, aut stipulationes, aut pacti et conventi formula non infirmari aut convelli potest, si ad verba rem deflectere velimus : consilium autem eorum, qui scripserunt, et rationem, et auctoritatem relinquamus? Sermo mehercule et familiaris et quotidianus non cohærebit, si verba inter nos aucupabimur."

The Latin critics have abundantly condemned these faults of expression: yet from the numerous instances quoted, the language seems to have been peculiarly liable to them. Quinctilian, lib. vii. cap. 10., brings forward several curious instances:—

"Unde controversia illa, Testamento quidam jussit *poni statuam auream hastam tenentem.*"

"*Hæres meus uxori meæ dare damnas esto argenti, quod elegerit, pondo centum.*"

"*Nos flentes illos deprehendimus.*"

This same critic produces several instances of ancient pleasantry and graceful repartee; nor does he seem to turn with absolute disgust even from tickling and practical jokes: — "Neque hoc ab ullo satis explicari puto, licet multi tentaverint, unde *risus*, qui non solum facto aliquo dictove, sed interdum quodam etiam corporis tactu, lacessitur: præterea non, ut oratione moveri soleat: neque enim acute tantum ac venuste, sed stulte, iracunde, timide dicta aut facta ridentur: ideoque anceps ejus rei ratio est, quod a *derisu* non procul abest *risus*." — Lib. vi. cap. 4. This subject had been touched upon before, lib. i. cap. 10. Cicero says: —"Suavis autem est, et vehementer sæpe utilis jocus, et facetiæ: quæ, etiamsi alia omnia tradi arte possunt, naturæ sunt propria certe, neque ullam artem desiderant." He goes on to produce a long string of them.

The term sophist is closely connected with these degeneracies in wit and argument. Originally it signified a teacher of philosophy, as defined by Philostratus: but its more modern sense, according to Suidas, is ὁ ἐπηρεάζων ἐκὰν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις: that is to say, one who deals out calumnies and cavils in his speech,

and that intentionally. Agreeable to this practice is the syllogistic mode of joking. We are told of a celebrated sophist in Paris, who had a high reputation for this kind of wit. He was in the habit of killing Charon in the following manner :—

Morieris Charon, et sic argumentor.
Omnis Caro moritur,
Tu es Charo,
Ergo morieris.

The lawyers have not been exempt from this *cacoethes* of argumentation. "Testamentum lex est. Solus princeps potest condire legem. Ergo solus princeps potest facere testamentum."

This device was particularly convenient for the delivery of oracles ; and the *Dii minorum gentium* kept a large stock of them for daily sale. They had the great merit of not being by possibility wrong : witness this noted one :—

Ajo te Æacida Romanos vincere posse.

Omens were often conveyed in this equivocal manner, and prophecies of death made vehicles of wit. When Pompey had lost the field of Pharsalia, an unfavourable prognostic occurred to him. As he was threading his escape, near the island of Cyprus, he remarked a magnificent palace, and asking its name, was answered, Κακοβασίλεια, the palace of the wicked king. The occurrence laid hold on his spirits. He could not help acknowledging that he was on the way to a treacherous and ungrateful man in the person of Ptolemy, to whom he had ren-

dered repeated and valuable services: and he had good reason to think so; for he lost his life by him.

There are two lines in Virgil, at the beginning of the fourth Æneid, where Dido, being desperately in love with Æneas, is introduced with the following words in her mouth: —

Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes?
Quem sese ore ferens! quam forti pectore, et armis!

The sense is obvious enough: — *valiant in arms and courageous.* But a company of wits once persuaded an eminent French critic, that all former commentators and translators had misunderstood Virgil; and that the true interpretation of the queen's meaning was, *Do look at his port! what a fine stout fellow he is! Forti pectore,* they positively insisted, could refer to nothing but square building, broad chest, and a more than ordinary proportion of shoulder. Nothing settles a classical question so soon as a parallel passage; they therefore fortified their critical discovery by quoting from Virgil himself:—

Os humerosque deo similis.

Horace delivers the following precept, which Dr. Kitchener must duly appreciate:—

Fecundæ leporis sapiens sectabitur *armos.*

Here are three important informations couched in five words: one but just recovered in the recent editions. The wrong reading of the older copies, *Fecundi,* had thrown a wet blanket over a third

part of our author's wisdom and experience: for he means to tell us by his epithet, and it is not always epithets have so much meaning, that the prolific nature of the female hare gives a peculiar zest to her wings. Besides; what becomes of our grammar? *Hic lepus* is not *fecundus*, unless we suppose the poet to use the adjective for the participle active. Furthermore, there is an amphibology in the word *sapiens*, bearing as it does two meanings, a man of good *taste*, and a man of good *sense*. The moral here meant to be enforced is clear: the wise man is he who always dines as well as he can. *Sectabitur* enforces the authentic doctrine, that a hunted hare is best. A further inference is perhaps to be derived, that the emphasis on *armos* of the female is designed to recommend by an implied antithesis the *lumbi* of the male. It has been made a question whether *armus*, clearly derived from ἀρμὸς, is not to be confined to brutes. The statement in Ainsworth is, that it means a shoulder or arm; more rarely, though anciently, of a man: but that in the Augustan age it began to be used only of beasts. That however rarely, it was applied to man in the Augustan age, is proved by the quotation from Virgil, and by another from Manilius. Ovid and Virgil are quoted for its bestial application. But there is a further proof that it was also understood as of man, in the word *armilla*, ab armis, i. e. brachiis, a bracelet or jewel, worn on the left arm, or waist, and given to the foot soldiers by their general. They were worn likewise by the women.

To this head may be referred the whimsical derivation of *Argumentum, argute inventum* as a

compound, not from the simple *arguo*. Again, *Cicero, a cicere; Lentulus, a lente; Agrippa, ab agro partu; Martius, a Martio mense; Mantus, mane editus; Servius, servatus in utero matre mortua:* and many others of equal probability. But with respect to these fancies in etymology, founded on imaginary allusions in names, "Inde pravis ingeniis ad fœdissima usque ludibria dilabuntur," says Quinctilian.

Louis XI. was quite alive to the practical humour of an amphibology. Philip de Comines relates the pleasant manner in which he wheedled the Constable de St. Paul: — "Le Roy nomma une lettre au dit Connestable; et lui mandoit qu'il avoit bien à besoigner d'une telle teste comme la sienne." But he explained himself candidly and confidentially to M. de Contay: — "Je n'entends point que nous eussions le corps, mais j'entends que nous eussions la teste, et que le corps fût demeuré là." This pious equivoque took effect, and the constable was ultimately surrendered and sent to his trial before the parliament of Paris, who passed on him the sentence of death and confiscation. One of the commissioners into whose hands he was delivered was M. de Saint Pierre. It was said on that occasion, that there was war in paradise between St. Peter and St. Paul.

ACROSTICS.

THIS species of cleverness, not very difficult, is very much despised, and, I believe, very deservedly so. But it had many examples among the Latins, in particular the arguments to the comedies of Plautus, which were all of them made out after that fashion. A specimen may be given in that of Amphitryon, which stands first in the editions, and is selected for no other reason. There is neither more nor less of merit in any of the others: —

Amore captus Alcumenas Juppiter,
Mutavit sese in ejus formam conjugis.
Pro patria Amphitruo dum cernit cum hostibus,
Habitu Mercurius ei subservit Sosiæ:
Is advenienteis, servum ad dominum, frustra habet.
Turbas uxori ciet Amphitruo: atque invicem
Raptant pro mœchis. Blepharo captus arbiter,
Uter sit non quit Amphitruo decernere.
Omnem rem noscunt; geminos Alcmena enititur.

ECHO.

Sex etiam, aut septem, loca vidi reddere voces.
LUCRETIUS.

THERE is an account of two remarkable echos in Pausanias: one near Corinth: — Τοῦ δὲ τῆς Χθονίας ἐστὶν ἱεροῦ, σοὰ κατὰ τὴν δεξιὰν Ἠχοῦς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καλουμένη· φθεγξαμένῳ δὲ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ὀλίγιστα ἐς τρεῖς ἀντιβοῆσαι πέφυκεν. The other was in Elis: — Εἰσὶ δ' οἳ τὴν σοὰν ταύτην καὶ Ἠχοῦς ὀνομάζουσι· βοήσαντι δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἁπλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς ἠχοῦς ἡ φωνὴ ἐπὶ τάδε, καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι ἀποδίδοται.

Plutarch, in his treatise Περὶ Ἀδολεσχίας, mentions a third: — Τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ σοὰν ἀπὸ μιᾶς φωνῆς πολλὰς ἀνταναπλάσεις ποιοῦσαν, ἁπλάφωνον καλοῦσι· τῆς δ' Ἀδολεσχίας ἂν ἐλάχιστος ἅψηται λόγος, εὐθὺς ἀντιπεριηχεῖ,

Κινοῦσα χορδὰς τὰς ἀκινήτους φρενῶν.

The poetical fiction of Narcissus and the Nymph, and the compassion of the gods in transforming disappointed flesh and blood into a last syllable, could not possibly escape the prevailing taste of Ovid, and an ample description in his Metamorphoses.

LEONINE VERSES.

THIS quaint style of composition, so justly decried as a specimen of ingenuity, seems to have derived its origin, not from bad taste, but naturally from the construction of the Latin language, in which, so far from any cleverness in the contrivance, the difficulty is to avoid jingle. The adjective and the substantive having most frequently the same termination in the same cases, and the places on which the *cæsura* falls in hexameter and pentameter verses favouring the position of the adjective in the middle, and the substantive at the end of the line, these circumstances render those measures more liable to this accident than any other. They are generally spoken of as monkish inventions, after the taste of the Latin language and the spirit of the Latin poetry had materially degenerated, and rhyme had begun to supplant the prosodial quantity of the Greek and Latin. This is a correct representation, if the Leonine verse be considered as a set form of composition. But the monks have the merit or demerit, not of originality, but of adoption and adaptation. Numerous examples are to be found in Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, Ovid, and others of the ancients. You can hardly open their works without stumbling upon them. Take for instance Virgil, lib. vii. :—

Ecce autem Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis.

Ovid. Epist.: —

Pingit et exiguo Pergama tota mero.

Traditur huic digitis charta notata meis.

And eight more instances within the space of seventy-six lines, or at the rate of one in eight lines. Ovid was not likely to have felt much objection to what a highly cultivated ear must feel as a cacophony; but Virgil's judgment and pure taste must have been betrayed into it only from the difficulty of escape: and had the Æneid received his finishing hand, he probably would, in most cases, have contrived to avoid it. Cicero, though considered as a divine orator, was not an excellent poet, though not so very bad a one as some persons have with little discrimination represented him. In the poems *on his own times*, quoted by Quinctilian, is the celebrated line, —

O fortunatam natam me consule Romam!

There is extant an epitaph on Pope Benedict XII. who is said to have come into the popedom like a fox, to have reigned like a lion, and to have died like a dog. We must not be very particular about the *Ne* in *Nero*. —

Hic suus est Nero, laicis mors, vipera clero,
Devius a vero, cupa repleta mero.

The following furnishes a specimen of middle-age satire against the hierarchy:—

Accipe, sume, cape, sunt verba placentia Papæ.

That on Bede is well known: —

Continet hæc fossa Bedæ venerabilis ossa.

The ingenuity of the following consists in its being an epitaph for four persons, in one line:—

Filius hic, pater hic, et avus, proavus jacet isthic.

The following couplet, it is to be hoped, is not so well founded in its ascriptions to certain extensive classes of the human, as in those to the brute creation: —

Vulpes amat fraudem, lupus agnum, fœmina laudem,
Vulnus amat medicus, presbyter interitus.

The following, in addition to the profundity of the remark, will prevent us from slipping in our declensions: —

Destruit os oris quicquid lucratur os ossis.

Sir Walter Scott quotes the following splendid specimen in his introduction to the Battle of Otterbourne: —

Regibus et legibus Scotici constantes,
Vos clypeis et gladiis pro patria pugnantes,
Vestra est victoria, vestra est et gloria,
In cantu et historia, perpes est memoria!

This rhyming propensity, originating, as we have already observed, in the peculiar construction of the Latin language, is carried to the extravagance of quaint pathos in the following stanzas of Fair Helen, a Scottish ballad: —

O! Helen sweet, and maist complete,
My captive spirit's at thy feet!
Thinks thou still fit thus for to meet
Thy captive cruelly?
O! Helen brave! but this I crave,
On thy poor slave some pity have,
And do him save that's near his grave,
And dies for love of thee.

To this Leonine origin may probably be traced the rhyming propensity of many proverbs in prose; as, — *Qualis vita finis ita.**

An old lawyer of the middle ages gives the following satirical quatrain: —

Annis mille jam peractis
Nulla fides est in pactis,
Mel in ore, verba lactis,
Fel in corde, fraus in factis.

* Alliteration is a favourite mode of proverbial expression; as thus, — *Fraud and frost end foul.* Our law language also is much infected with the itch of rhyming. *Art and part* is a translation of *ope et consilio.*

EXPRESSIVE DESCRIPTIONS.

THERE is no poet who abounds with these more than Virgil; and they are as highly wrought as frequent. No poet expresses in a more lively or picturesque manner, the nature of the action by the march of the verse. His dactyls and spondees were powerful instruments of description, "which we upon the adverse faction want." When he had any sudden action to describe, he always made use of dactyls, and of words selected with such care and skill, as to be, if not the echo, at least a symbol of the sense. The impotent blow aimed by Priam at Pyrrhus is well expressed by the inefficient labour of the verse: —

Telumque imbelle sine ictu
Conjecit.

The following description of a storm, in the first book, has caught the attention and received the praises of all critics: —

Ac venti, velut agmine facto,
Qua data porta, ruunt, et terras turbine perflant.
Incubuere mari, totumque a sedibus imis
Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis
Africus, et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.

Insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum.
Eripiunt subito nubes cœlumque diemque
Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra.
Intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus æther.

The first and second books abound in instances of this excellence in description. You can scarcely open the volume without lighting on them.

Cum subito assurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion
In vada cæca tulit, penitusque procacibus Austris,
Perque undas, superante salo, perque invia saxa,
Dispulit.

The description of the serpents devouring Laocoon in the second has given occasion to one of the finest pieces of sculpture ever executed; a model of artist-like anatomy, uniting the expression of pain in every limb with the most entire knowledge of the human frame, and exhibiting all the parts in terrific action. The sack of a town is strikingly represented in the two following lines:—

Clarescunt sonitus, armorumque ingruit horror.

The other, —

Exoritur clamorque virum: clangorque tubarum.

Popular sedition is finely described in a passage before quoted:—

Sævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces et saxa volant; furor arma ministrat.

The opening of a door is so expressed that you may hear the grating: —

Foribus cardo stridebat ahenis.

Fear is completely personified, and shown in action in the following line:—

Obstupuit, retroque pedem cum voce repressit.

And in another passage:—

Obstupui, steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit.

The fall of a house is thus represented:—

Ea lapsa, repente ruinam
Cum sonitu trahit.

Then the fire,—

Ilicet ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento
Volvitur; exsuperant flammæ; furit æstus ad auras.

In Æneidos iv.: —

Stat sonipes, ac frœna ferox spumantia mandit.

The death of Pompey the Great is sublimely described by Lucan: —

Ut vidit comminus enses,
Involvit vultus; atque indignatus apertum
Fortunæ præstare caput, tunc lumina pressit,
Continuitque animam, ne quas effundere voces
Vellet, et æternam fletu corrumpere famam.

And a few lines further,—

Seque probat moriens.

See the death of Dido, as a triumphant example of pathetic description, in the fourth book of the Æneid. The good old poet Ennius thought alli-

teration and imitative words the best engines of description, as in the two following instances:—

At tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit.

The other is quoted by Cicero in his third book De Oratore: —

Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu.

Martial describes the water of Dircenna as of icy coldness:—

Avidam rigens Dircenna placabit sitim,
Et Nemea, quæ vincit nives.

Lib. i. epig. 50.

VERSES OF WHIMSICAL CONSTRUCTION.

PLUTARCH, in his Platonic Questions, has taken to himself the fancy, that Homer advisedly performed the feat of bringing all the parts of speech into one verse. That he has done so is certain; but that the coincidence was accidental is almost equally so. The noblest poet of the world did not descend to grammatical tricks. The line is this: —

Αὐτὸς ἰὼν κλισίηνδε τὸ σὸν γέρας ὄφρ' εὖ εἰδῇς.

Pindar is stated to have composed a poem ἄσιγμον. He might have been better employed; for this could not have been accidental; nor was it worthy of the greatest lyric bard. So the curious in these matters have discovered a verse in the Seven Psalms, in which the letter A does not occur. This is no marvel, and must have been accidental. It was quite as easy and natural to leave the letter out in this case, as to put it in; for it runs as follows, and has every appearance of chance-medley: — "Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus, quibus non est intellectus."

Scaliger brings forward a verse, which he calls Proteus, because you may arrange the six words in seventy-two different ways, without the alteration of a letter. He was a learned man; but his trick in reference to the mythological transformation of Proteus is good for nothing but as a Christmas game for children, and too easy to puzzle even them. The line is this: —

Perfide sperasti divos te fallere Proteu.

It may be changed twelve times beginning with *perfide;* as many times with *fallere;* the same number with *divos,* with *Proteu,* and so on, making six dozen times.

There is a curious monosyllabic whim in Ausonius, indicating the decline of taste, but not destitute of ingenuity: —

Res hominum fragiles alit, et regit, et perimit fors.
Fors dubia, æternumque labans: quam blanda fovet spes.
Spes nullo finita ævo: cui terminus est mors.
Mors avida, inferna mergit caligine quam nox.
Nox obitura vicem: remeaverit aurea quum lux.
Lux dono concessa Deum, cui prævius est sol.
Sol, cui nec furto Veneris latet armipotens Mars.
Mars nullo de patre satus: quem Thressa colit gens.
Gens infræna virum: quibus in scelus omne ruit fas.
Fas hominem mactare sacris: ferus iste loci mos.
Mos ferus audacis populi: quem nulla tenet lex.
Lex naturali quam condidit imperio jus.
Jus genitum pietate hominum, jus certa Dei mens.
Mens, quæ cœlesti sensu rigat emeritum cor.
Cor vegetum mundi instar habens, animæ vigor ac vis.
Vis tamen hic nulla est: verum est jocus et nihili res.

The torturers of verses into jokes have discovered an increasing kind, where the first word is a monosyllable, the second a dissyllable, and so on; and have again pressed an accidental coincidence in Homer into their service: —

Ὦ μάκαρ ἀτρεΐδη μοιρηγένες ὀλβιόδαιμον.

Who would ever have suspected the severe Virgil of embellishing his Latin with such ornaments? The line of which he is accused, or in the estimation of the dealers in small wit, with which he is complimented, is, —

Ex quibus insignis pulcherrima Deïopea.

But it happens, unfortunately, that there is no such line in Virgil. The lady is mentioned once in the accusative case, and once besides, thus: —

Atque Ephyre, atque Opis, et Asia Deïopea.

But if we deprive them of this support, we can offer them an auxiliary from the heavy German squadron: —

Si cupis armari virtutibus Heliodore.

Or we can draw up the following rank and file of syllables as military as poetical: —

Dux turmas proprius conjunxerat auxiliares.

Against these set a specimen of the decreasing: —

Vectigalibus armamenta referre jubet Rex.

Every schoolboy knows the hexameter and pentameter, composed of two words each: —

Perturbabantur Constantinopolitani
Innumerabilibus sollicitudinibus.

Centos constitute another species of Lower Empire wit. That of Ausonius, so laboriously dull, begins thus. A short specimen will be sufficient to exhibit the taste of the contrivance, and to disgust the judicious admirer of Virgil with such a piece of patchwork: —

Accipite hæc animis: lætasque advertite mentes,
Ambo animis, ambo insignes præstantibus armis:
Ambo florentes, genus insuperabile bello.
Tuque prior, nam te majoribus ire per altum
Auspiciis manifesta fides, quo justior alter
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major et armis.

Proba Falconia, a Christian poetess, with more zeal than knowledge, composed a work on the Old and New Testaments, made up in this style, exclusively from the verses of Virgil.

The following macaronic line is not only prosodially, but grammatically whimsical: —

Supplicat ut præstum præstum vindicta FIATUR.

ROMAN NOTES.

Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri. VIRGIL.

AUSONIUS, who flourished under the emperor Theodosius, as well as under Valentinian and Gratian, lived just when the abrupt and compendious mode of writing was in the height of fashion. He notices it in his panegyric on a certain notary or scribe, in the following lines, commencing his epigram 137. : —

Puer notarum præpetum
Sollers minister, advola.

The three Roman Notes which follow were, as every one knows, of long standing :—

A. *Absolvo.*

C. *Condemno.*

N. L. *Non liquet,* when the business in hand was found to be doubtful.

In Greek, Θ was a mark of condemnation, as the first letter of Θάνατος, signifying death*, and T the mark of acquittal : Δ that of adjournment to a future period.

* Et potis es nigrum vitio præfigere theta. *Persius.*

The number of these abbreviations is very great. The following are a few of them: —

A. B. V. C. *Ab urbe condita.*

A. A. A. F. F. According to one interpretation, *Ære, argento, auro, flavo, feriunto:* according to another, that of Ainsworth, *Auro, argento, ære, flando feriundo.*

A. A. L. M. *Apud agrum locum monumenti.*

A. F. P. R. *Actum fide publica Rutilii.* Cicero playfully puts the following interpretation on it: *Æmilius fecit, plectitur Rutilius.*

C. P. *Censor perpetuus.*

D. *Divus.* D. D. *Deo dicavit,* seu *dedicaverunt; Dono dedit; Deo domestico.*

D. M. *Diis manibus; Divæ memoriæ; Deo maximo.* Sometimes with S after it, meaning *Sacrum.*

D. I. M. *Diis inferis maledictis.*

B. M. P. *Bene merenti posuit.*

P. P. *Posuerunt.*

P. C. *Ponendum curavit.*

H. M. H. S. *Hoc monumentum hæredes sequuntur.*

H. S. V. F. M. *Hoc sibi vivens fieri mandavit.*

H. M. P. *Hoc monumentum posuit.*

H. B. M. F. C. *Hæres bene merenti faciendum curavit.*

I. T. C. *Intra tempus constitutum.*

III. V. *Triumvir.* IIII. V. *Quartumvir.* X. V. *Decemvir.*

I. O. M. I. *Jovi optimo maximo immortali.*

T. F. *Titi filius.*

To express the word *Mulier,* they reverse the M, and to express *Mulier bona,* they write M. B. This abbreviation has given rise to an absurd proverb, *Mulier bona mala bestia.*

N. F. N. *Nobili familia natus.*

Ob M. P. E. C. *Ob merita pietatis et concordiæ.*

P. S. F. C. *Proprio sumptu faciundum curavit.*

R. P. C. *Retro pedes centum.*

The following is very complicated, and only partly given in the ordinary list: R. R. R. T. S. D. D. R. R. R. F. F. F. F. *Romulo regnante Roma triumphante sybilla Delphica dixit regnum Romæ ruet flamma, ferro, fame, frigore.*

The device of the Greek emperors was B. B. B. B. to denote Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων βασιλεύων βασιλεῦσι, *i. e.* King of kings reigning over kings.

The same emperors also adopted this cipher ☧, on their public instruments, signifying Χριστὸς, Christ.

The Latin letters XPS, often found in inscriptions, ought to be the Greek letters ΧΡΣ.

The Greeks had a proverb, Τριὰ κάππα κάκιστα, the Cappadocians, the Cretans, the Cilicians, three wicked nations beginning with the Greek letter corresponding with C.

The Romans bore on their standards, S. P. Q. R. meaning, *Senatus Populusque Romanus.* This has been adopted by certain religionists to express the following: *Serva populum quem redemisti.* An Italian on entering Rome applied it: *Sono poltroni questi Romani.* The Protestants of Germany gave it: *Sublato papa quietum regnum.* The Catholics: *Salus papæ quies regni.* A wit seeing it inscribed on the chamber wall of a pope newly created, put this question to him: *Sancte pater quare rides?* The jocular head of the church answered by turning the letters the contrary way: *Rideo quia papa sum.*

L. L. L. M. M. *Libertis libertabus locum monumenti mandavit.*

PA. PA. *Pater patriæ.* A pope having adopted this title, causing it to be written in large letters, it was construed two ways: *Poculum aureum Petri Apostoli;* or, *Petri apostoli potestatem accepit.*

MORS. *Mordens omnia rostro suo;* or, *Mutans omnes res sepultas.* Two words have also been given to each letter: M. *Mutatio mirabilis;* O. *Omnimoda oblivio;* R. *Repentina ruina.* S. *Separatio sempiterna.*

When physicians were sworn in, on passing to their doctor's degrees at Montpelier, in the middle ages, the professor gave them this solemn injunction, *Vade et occide CAIM,* meaning that they were to try their "prentice hands" on Carmelites, Augustines, Jacobins, and Minorites.

The last compendium seems to have been a copious source of this kind of wit. A monk passing along the road, heard some people saying to one another as they were looking at him, — *Beatæ urbes ubi non habitat CAIM:* he immediately answered, *Beatissimæ ubi non habitat FEL;* meaning Faber, Erasmus, and Luther, considered as heresiarchs at that time.

EPITAPHS.

Purpuream vomit ille animam. VIRGIL.

THERE are three epitaphs in Aulus Gellius, which he inserts on account of their superior elegance and beauty: each of them written by the poets to whom they apply, for the purpose of being inscribed on the tombs they had provided while living. The first is that of Nævius, full of insolence and arrogance:—

Mortalis immortalis flere si foret fas:
Flerent divæ Camœnæ Nævium poetam.
Itaque postquam est Orcino traditus thesauro,
Oblitei sunt Romæ loquier Latina lingua.

That of Pacuvius is a contrast to it, in point of modesty, and has a remarkable portion of dignified elegance:—

Adolescens, tamen etsi properas, hoc te saxum rogat,
Utei ad se aspicias: deinde quod scriptu'st legas.
Hic sunt poetæ Pacuviei Marcei sita
Ossa. hoc volebam nescius ne esses. vale.

I place this second in relief to the other, though the author places it last. The third is that of Plautus: —

Postquam morte datu'st Plautus, comœdia luget;
Scena est deserta. dein Risus, Ludu', Jocusque,
Et numeri innumeri simul omnes collacrumarunt.

An epitaph written in the year 1506, is perhaps too epigrammatic, but has some eloquence: —

Mors juvenem ferit atque senem discrimine magno,
Nempe ferit juvenem retro, sed ante senem.

Ambiguous epitaphs are sometimes the vehicles of satire; as in the following short one, on a rich and powerful nobleman: —

Hic jacet vir amplissimus.

Another on a hard drinker: —

Hic jacet Amphora vini.
i. e. *Here lies a tun of wine.*

Epitaph on a physician named Sylvius: —

Sylvius hic situs est gratis qui nil dedit unquam,
Mortuus et gratis quod legis ista dolet.

One of the great Erasmus's enemies made a spiteful but witless couplet on him, with a plen-

tiful supply of false quantities; "Nam nos Britones non curamus quantitates syllabarum:" —

Hic jacet Erasmus, qui quondam bonus erat mus.
Rodere qui solitus, roditur a vermibus.

Some one attempted to improve it, by substituting for *bonus, pravus;* but his prosody reached no farther.

The following epigram contains a severe satire; —

Hic jacet Ugo senex, sed qui prius inde recessit,
Quam scisset cur hoc esset in orbe satus.

The following is an epitaph on one Master *Jean le Veau:* —

O Deus omnipotens Vituli miserere Joannis,
Quem mors præveniens non sinit esse bovem!

Marot has paraphrased it into eight lines. With a slight change, it has been applied to one Count *Vitelli,* killed in the civil wars of the Low Countries.

There was a Cordelier at Paris, by name, *Pierre Cornu,* or *Corne,* in Latin, Doctor *de Cornibus.* This person died at Paris in 1542, and was the subject of several epitaphs; among the number the following macaronic: —

Faut-il hélas, O Doctor optime,
Que vous perdions hisce temporibus,
Au grand besoin, Doctor egregie,
Vous nous laissez plenos mœroribus.

"Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay," neither stopped a bung-hole, nor patched a wall: but he was put to nearly as base a use, when he became the subject of the following epitaph: —

Hic jacet intus
Carolus Quintus:
Dic pro illo bis aut ter,
Ave Maria, Pater noster.

MISCELLANEOUS EPIGRAMS.

WHEN the pretensions of birth are not immoderately urged, the public are disposed to treat it with all due respect. On the other hand, persons of low origin, raised to a high station, if they give not themselves the airs of aboriginal aristocracy, if they shrink not from the remembrance of what they once were, will not be painfully reminded of it by others. Agathocles, king of the Syracusans, was entitled to much credit in that respect. The acts of tyranny committed by him were indeed atrocious; but somewhat of the censure attaching to his general character is softened, by his remembrance without shame, in his prosperous fortune, that he was the son of a potter. That the circumstance might never be absent from his mind, as well as in honour of his father's memory, and of his own origin, his side-board was set out with earthen dishes introduced among the gold and silver plate. Ausonius has made this the subject of an elegant epigram: —

Fama est fictilibus cœnasse Agathoclea regem,
Atque abacum Samio sæpe onerasse luto.
Fercula gemmatis quum poneret horrida vasis;
Et misceret opes, pauperiemque simul:

Quærenti causam, respondit: Rex ego qui sum
Sicaniæ, figulo sum genitore satus.
Fortunam reverenter habe, quicunque repente
Dives ab exili progrediere loco.

Rabelais is elegantly complimented by Beza, in a celebrated epigram among his Juvenilia: —

Qui sic nugatur, tractantem ut seria vincat,
Seria cum faciet, dic, rogo, quantus erit?

Barbers were brought to Rome from Sicily by Publius Ticinius Mena. For upwards of 400 years, the ancient Romans never shaved. Lucian has an epigram on long beards: —

Εἰ τὸ τρίφειν πώγωνα δοκεῖς σοφίαν περιποιεῖν,
Καὶ τράγος εὐπώγων εὔξοχος ἐξὶ Πλάτων.

Philo reasons thus on a foolish old age: —

Αἱ γὰρ ἄτερ νοῦ,
Μᾶλλον τῶν πολλῶν εἰσὶν ὄνειδος ἐτῶν.

Massinger, in The Old Law, seems to have had his eye on Lucian's epigram, in the observations of a courtier on the Duke of Epire's proposed reformation: —

It will have heats though, when they see the painting
Go an inch deep i' the wrinkle, and take up
A box more than their gossips: but for men, my lord,
That should be the sole bravery of a palace,
To walk with hollow eyes and long white beards,
As if a prince dwelt in a land of goats;

With clothes as if they sat on their backs on purpose
To arraign a fashion, and condemn 't to exile;
Their pockets in their sleeves, as if they laid
Their ear to avarice, and heard the devils whisper!
Now ours lie downward here close to the flank,
Right spending pockets, as a son's should be
That lives i' the fashion; where our diseased fathers,
Worried with the sciatica and aches,
Brought up your paned hose first, which ladies laugh'd at,
Giving no reverence to the place distrain'd:
They love a doublet that's three hours a buttoning,
And sits so close makes a man groan again,
And his soul mutter half a day; yet these are those
That carry sway and worth: prick'd up in clothes,
Why should we fear our rising?

The value of Martial is to the full as great to the classical antiquary, as to the searcher after wit. The following passage from one of the epigrams states the various uses of the *Endromis*: —

Seu lentum ceroma teris, tepidumve trigona,
Sive harpasta manu pulverulenta rapis:
Plumea seu laxi partiris pondera follis:
Sive levem cursu vincere quæris Atham.
Ne madidos intret penetrabile frigus in artus,
Neve gravis subita te premat Iris aqua.
Ridebis ventos hoc munere tectus et imbres.
Lib. iv, epig. 19.

Wooden toothpicks, made of the lentisk, were preferred to quills by the Romans: —

Lentiscum melius: sed si tibi frondea cuspis
Defuerit, dentes penna levare potest.
Lib. xiv. epig. 22.

The point of honour is sometimes placed on a whimsical object. There is an epigram of Lucilius in the Anthology, on the subject of one Diophon, who being condemned to the punishment of crucifixion, died of envy at seeing the cross of another criminal taller than his own : —

Μακροτέρῳ σαυρῷ σαυρούμενον ἄλλον ἑαυτοῦ
Ὁ φθόνερος Διοφῶν ἐγγὺς ἰδὼν ἐτάκη.

Martial's epigrams on the Saturnalian hospitalities, throw much light on the state of manners, and of natural history at this time. In this latter respect, they often illustrate Pliny : —

Mollis in æquorea quæ crevit spina Ravenna
Non erit incultis gratior asparagis.
Lib. xiii. epig. 21.

Pliny mentions in more passages than one the pleasantness and prolific character of the gardens at Ravenna.

The splendour or plainness of the exterior should be proportioned to the much or little worth of the interior ; as illustrated by the following epigram on an ivory coffer : —

Hos nisi de flava loculos implere moneta
Non decet : argentum vilia ligna ferant.
Lib. xiv. epig. 12.

The vicissitudes of fashion in the arrangement of the table are not unhappily touched upon in the following question of Martial : —

Claudere quæ cœnas lactuca solebat avorum,
Dic mihi, cur nostras inchoat illa dapes ?
Lib. xiii. epig. 14.

Martial also gives us an account of what was called a many-match lamp: —

Illustrem cum tota meis convivia flammis,
Totque geram myxas, una lucerna vocor.

In the thirteenth epigram of Catullus, there is much humour in the following description of empty-pursed poverty leaving ample room for spiders to spin their cobwebs. The poet has been furnishing his friend with a copious list of requisites, which, if he bring with him, he will be sure of a good supper: —

Hæc si, inquam, attuleris, venuste noster,
Cœnabis bene; nam tui Catulli
Plenus sacculus est aranearum.

The following allusion to the meat and drink of the gods, with their acceptance of more humble fare from their sacrificers, is in the true spirit of epigram, and highly complimentary to the poet's friend: —

Miraris, docto quod carmina mitto Severo,
Ad cœnam quod te, docte Severe, vocem?
Jupiter ambrosia satur est, et nectare vivit;
Nos tamen exta Jovi cruda, merumque damus.
Martial, lib. xi. epig. 58.

Martial, in another epigram, points out a pleasant invention of the ancients, in drinking as many glasses of wine as there were letters in the names of their mistresses. This is the earliest mode of toasting; and the practice served as a comment on the sober or Bacchanalian character of the lover.

If he were a lover also of wine, he would of course pay his addresses to a lady with a long name, What a train of admirers would the Wilhelmina's and the Theodosia's have in these our days! —

Nævia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur;
Quinque Lycas, Lyde quattuor, Ida tribus.
Omnis ab infuso numeretur amica Falerno;
Et, quia nulla venit, tu mihi, Somne, veni.

Some of the commentators, on the word *Somne*, tell us it was the custom of the poets to invoke sleep, and instance Ovid and Statius. What of it? there seems no particular point in that, or at least a very blunt one. The Delphin editor says, that to propitiate sleep, they tossed off the last cup to Mercury, as the god presiding over that blessing, which Sancho characterises as wrapping a man round like a blanket. But this was not a case of the *last* cup. The meaning of the poet seems to be, that having no mistress, he will regulate his drinking to five cups, the number of letters in the word *Somne*. By this he purposes to declare his moderation; the number being exactly a mean between the shortest and the tallest lady toasted by the rest of the party. It may also be considered, that if any one at table were to attempt to force him beyond his stint, and to drink the president of sleep by his proper and longer name of *Mercurius*, he would tell them plainly, he had rather go to sleep than drink any more. But not of his opinion was a modern humourist. In a company where the guests took it into their heads to revive this ancient custom, he, like Martial, having no lady to toast, declared that he would

drink to *Somnus* in the nominative case; and filled six successive bumpers accordingly.

Eubulus, in Athenæus, screws down the jollity of the wise man at the sticking-place of three glasses: —

Τρεῖς γὰρ μόνους κρατῆρας ἐγκεραννύω
Τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι· τὸν μετ' ὑγιείας ἕνα,
Ὃν πρῶτον ἐκπίνουσι. τὸν δὲ δεύτερον
Ἔρωτος, ἡδονῆς τε. τὸν τρίτον δ' ὕπνου,
Ὃν εἰσπιόντες οἱ σοφοὶ κεκλημένοι
Οἴκαδε βαδιοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος οὐκέτι
Ἀμέτερός ἐς', ἀλλ' ὕβρεως. πέμπτος θοῆς·
Ἕκτος δὲ κώμων· ἕβδομος δ' ὑποπίων·
Ὁ δ' ὄγδοος κλητῆρος· ὁ δ' ἔνατος χολῆς.
Δέκατος δὲ μανίας, ὥστε καὶ βάλλειν ποιεῖ.
Πολὺς γὰρ εἰς ἓν μικρὸν ἀγγεῖον χυθεὶς
Ὑποσκελίζει ῥᾳστα τοὺς πεπωκότας.

A Greek proverb fixes, not the stirrup cup, but the dozing cup, at either three or five: —

Ἢ πέντε πῖν', ἢ τρία πίν', ἢ μὴ τέτταρα.

For this alternative, and the accompanying prohibition, the long established good luck of odd, and the bad luck of even numbers, will account. Plutarch also discusses this important question.

MISCELLANEOUS ETYMOLOGIES, AND PECULIAR MEANINGS AND USAGES OF WORDS.

THE word *prologium* is defined in Festus, *principium, proloquium.* Pacuvius is given as the authority. "Quid est? nam me examinasti prologio tuo." Προλόγιον is the diminutive of πρόλογος, as ἐξόδιον of ἔξοδος. *Prologium* has been supposed to be the argument, *prologus* the spoken introduction to a play: but the fact seems to be, that the former was the old word, indicating brevity, in time superseded by the latter, generally applied without reference to length. We use the words *Prologue* and *Preface* as the Romans did, in modern English: the former for a poetical, the latter for a prose introduction: but Shakspeare and his contemporaries used *Prologue* in both senses, and for *introduction* in general.

The surname of *Brutus,* which signifies *senseless* or *void of reason,* was first assumed by the deliverer of Rome, as a shift of policy to cover his patriotic design.

Barbatus signifies *bearded.* It afterwards obtained the secondary meaning of *simple* or *silly,* in reference to the dotage of grey-beards; and the less offensive sense of *old-fashioned,* as when the kings who governed Rome, as well as their people, wore their beards unshorn.

"Incredibile prope dictu est," says Freigius in the life of Ramus, "sed tamen verum, et editis libris proditum, in Parisiensi Academia doctores extitisse, qui mordicus tuerentur ac defenderent, *Ego amat*, tam commodam orationem esse, quam *Ego amo*, ad eamque pertinaciam comprimendam consilio publico opus fuisse." The Sorbonne and the Faculty of Theology at Oxford joined in levelling their ecclesiastical thunders against such a grammatical heresy. This absurdity, as a general doctrine, took its rise from two passages in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, in the prophecies of Isaiah and Malachi, where the Deity is made to speak of himself by the pronoun of the first person singular, joined to the verb of the third singular, and by the pronoun of the first person singular with a noun in the plural number in apposition. Our translators have wisely not attempted to inoculate this Hebraism on our English idiom, if indeed it be a Hebraism. May it not be considered as a usage confined to that Being in which all persons and all things are comprehended, and in reference to human powers of discrimination, confounded? On grounds somewhat similar, the compilers of our Liturgy have chosen to commence the Lord's Prayer, "Our Father, *which* art in heaven," rather than *who*: a point on which there has been much controversy; but, in my opinion, the rendering of the Liturgy has sound judgment on its side. *Ego addet*, the Latin translation of the Hebrew, may be reduced to common grammar by considering the phrase as strongly elliptical: *Ego sum ille*; then, *qui addam*, or, *qui addet*, will be rendered equally amenable to general syntax. *Domini ego* is rather more stub-

born, and hardly borne out by the resource of an ellipse: but obscurity on an incomprehensible subject is not only excusable, but a mode of the sublime; and however difficult, or even impossible it may be to construe the expression without a solecism, its spirit seems tantamount to the assertion, "There are none other gods but me."

The phrase, *verba dare*, is used in a peculiar sense, refining on the first and obvious bearing of the words, as in the following line of Ovid: —

Verba dat omnis amor, reperitque alimenta morando.

The following passage of Ausonius refers to the historical origin of the epithet *tacitæ*, applied by Virgil to Amyclæ. It reminds one of the fable and the proverb about *calling wolf*. The city had been so often and so causelessly alarmed by the cry, "The enemy is coming," that any such announcement was constituted a high crime and misdemeanor. The enemy did come; the law was duly obeyed, and the city taken: —

Ac velut Œbaliis habites taciturnus Amyclis,
Aut tua Sigalion Ægyptius oscula signet,
Obnixum Pauline taces.

In the second line Harpocrates is meant, the name being etymological, from σιγάω and λεώς. He is mentioned as a god in connection with Isis and Osiris, and was worshipped among the Lares, to inculcate the moral, that family secrets ought to be kept.

Macrobius, on Scipio's Dream, lib. ii. cap. 1., endeavours to explain the doctrine of Pythagoras

respecting the music of the spheres. Here we find the rudiments of modern harmonics, and the system of concords and discords on arithmetical principles: — "Hemiolius est, cum de duobus numeris major habet totum minorem, et insuper ejus medietatem; ut sunt tria ad duo. nam in tribus sunt duo, et media pars eorum, id est, unum. et ex hoc numero, qui hemiolius dicitur, nascitur sympnonia, quæ appellatur διὰ πέντε." Here surely is an approach to those arithmetical proportions of first, third, and fifth, on which the system of thorough bass is founded in modern music as a practical art. There seems also, in the passage just quoted, an obscure hint of a major and minor key.

Oscines, Varro tells us, are "Aves ore et cantu auspicium facientes."

From ψόλος, soot, or the black and thick substance produced by smoke, comes the adjective ψολόεντες, as used in the following passage: —Ἕκαστον δὲ τούτων, καλασκῆψαν εἰς τὴν γῆν, σκηωτὸς ὀνομάζεται. τῶν δὲ κεραυνῶν, οἱ μὲν αἰθαλώδεις, ψολόεντες λέγονται· οἱ δὲ ταχέως διάττοντες, ἀργῆτες· ἑλικίαι δὲ, οἱ γραμμοειδῶς φερόμενοι. — *Arist. Lib. de Mundo.*

The Greek word γύρος signifies a small mass of flesh of a round figure. Hence a frog is called γυρίνος at the commencement of its generation, as being a shapeless black lump, with no parts distinctly indicated but two large eyes and a tail. Thus Plato in Theæteto: —Ἵνα μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ πανὺ καταφρονητικῶς ἤρξατο ἡμῖν λέγειν· ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ θεὸν ἐθαυμάζομεν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ, ὁ δ' ἄρα ἐτύγχανεν ὢν εἰς φρόνησιν οὐδὲν βελτίων βατράχου γυρίνου, μὴ ὅτι ἄλλου του ἀνθρώπων· We see here why γυρίνοι came to signify, in a metaphorical sense, fools and stupid persons.

There were two Greek words, συμβολὴ and σύμβολον, both from the same compound verb. The Pythagoric symbols were certain pointed and short sentences, often obscure and enigmatical, employed as means of instruction by Pythagoras. The word afterwards came to signify the payment of a person's *scot*, or quota of a reckoning, whence our legal term of paying *scot and lot*, meaning parochial payments, which give a title to the rights and privileges of a parishioner. This compound phrase sometimes assumes the proverbial sense of a sound drubbing: as when Falstaff says, that if he had not counterfeited, that hot termagant Scot would have paid him *scot and lot* too. In the following passage *symbola*, not *symbolum*, is used for a reckoning:—

Phædrum, aut Cliniam
Dicebant, aut Niceratum; nam hi tres tum simul
Amabant. "Eho! quid Pamphilus?" "Quid? symbolam
Dedit; cœnavit." Gaudebam.

Terent. in Andria.

Pamphilus supped, and paid his reckoning. The word is used in another sense for a badge, or rallying point, for persons of the same party; conformably to which, it is applied to regimental colours, to a royal or national standard. Συμβολὴ also, but not σύμβολον, takes the signification of a conference or parley, and of comparison. It is also synonymous with a type, in the scriptural sense of the latter word.

The goddesses presiding over fate and fortune are etymologised by Pomp. Festus in the following terms:—"Tenitæ credebantur esse sortium deæ, dictæ quod tenendi haberent potestatem."—Lib. xviii.

The *Tubilustria* was the day of benediction at Rome for the trumpets dedicated to sacrifices:— "Tubilustria dies appellabant in quibus agna tubas lustrabant. Tubilustria quibus diebus adscriptum in fastis est, cum in atrio sutorio agna tubæ lustrantur, ab eis tubos appellant, quod genus lustrationis ex Arcadia Pallanteo transvectum esse dicunt."— *Pomp. Fest.*

Proxima Vulcani lux es; Tubilustria dicunt:
Lustrantur puræ, quas facit ille, tubæ.
Ovid. Fast. lib. v.

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES FROM HORACE.

Ut pictura, poesis; erit quæ, si propius stes,
Te capiat magis; et quædam, si longius abstes.
Hæc amat obscurum; volet hæc sub luce videri,
Judicis argutum quæ non formidat acumen:
Hæc placuit semel; hæc decies repetita placebit.

De Arte Poetica.

THIS analogy between poetry and painting is just, and judiciously stated. Effects in either can only be produced by a just distribution of light and shade. A painter who shall paint in a strong light what is only adapted to a faint one, will be unable to place the spectator at any point of view, at which either the proportions of symmetry or the gradations of perspective will meet the eye aright. So is it with a poem; some parts of which are designed for a full light, others to fall into a graduated obscurity. The principle applies to the finishing of figures, as well as to perspective and *chiaro scuro*. A judicious painter will execute the principal and the subordinate parts with different degrees of care: the former will be given in full and exact proportion, with all the mastery of drawing; the most remote and least important among the latter will rather be indicated than made out. In like manner, the poet will sketch minor objects slightly, and leave them in a subdued tone of colouring, that the reader may relax from the earnestness of his

gaze, and recruit his attention for the more prominent features of the work. Uniform grace in a picture, or unrelenting brilliancy of thoughts and expressions in a poem, will in the end reduce the too highly stimulated admirer to a condition little short of a critical gutta serena. Cicero has applied the same principle of gradation to oratory: — "Quamquam illa ipsa exclamatio, *Non potest melius*, sit velim crebra; sed habeat tamen illa in dicendo admiratio ac summa laus umbram aliquam et recessum, quo magis id, quod erit illuminatum, extare atque eminere videatur."—*De Oratore*, lib. iii.

Sic Jovis interest
Optatis epulis impiger Hercules;
Clarum Tyndaridæ sidus ab infimis
Quassas eripiunt æquoribus rates;
Ornatus viridi tempora pampino
Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

Carmin. lib. iv. od. 8.

The life of the gods, denominated *apotheosis*, when conferred on mortals, was distinguished by two especial privileges: the one, that of sitting at the table of Jupiter; the other, the marriage of some goddess. Horace was indebted to Homer, in the eleventh book of the Odyssey, for the hint of Hercules enjoying the former privilege of divinity; and being a notoriously huge feeder, he of course made the most of his free quarters: but he does not notice his investment with the latter on the part of Homer, who gives him Hebe, the goddess of youth, for a wife: neither does he touch upon that curious opinion of the ancients, respecting the threefold partition of man after death: the body of Hercules was consumed

in the flames; his image conversed with Ulysses in the shades below; while his soul was domesticated in the heavenly mansions and society.

There is much humour, both in the ideas and the expression of the following passages:—

> Aurem substringe loquaci.
> Importunus amat laudari? donec, ohe jam!
> Ad cœlum manibus sublatis dixerit, urge, et
> Crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem.

The bustling incidents of a journey, the confusion and clamour of going by water, are no where more pleasantly described than in the narrative of the poet's peregrination to Brundisium. The boatmen required payment from the passengers on entrance:—

> Huc appelle: trecentos inseris: ohe!
> Jam satis est. Dum æs exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
> Tota abit hora. *Satir.* lib. i. sat. 5.

Sanadon instances the following passage as an example of modesty unusual among poets; any man but a Frenchman would consider it to be an ebullition of vanity. *Si placeo*, on which he lays stress, is but the "butter-woman's rank to market" of humility:—

> O testudinis aureæ
> Dulcem quæ strepitum, Pieri, temperas;
> O mutis quoque piscibus
> Donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum:
> Totum muneris hoc tui est,
> Quod monstror digito prætereuntium
> Romanæ fidicen lyræ.
> Quod spiro, et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.
> *Carmin.* lib. iv. od. 3.

He speaks of himself more pleasingly in the fourth ode of the third book, where he acknowledges that he owes his life to the muses, and alludes to his own unmilitary flight from battle :—

> Vestris amicum fontibus, et choris
> Non me Philippis versa acies retro,
> Devota non extinxit arbor,
> Nec Sicula Palinurus unda.

Although the slipshod style be the characteristic of Horace's hexameters, he occasionly shows by a line of much rythm and beauty, that his will, and not his poverty, consents to ramble abroad in an undress. Take as an example of this the last line of the following passage from the second epistle of the first book :—

> Nos numerus sumus, et fruges consumere nati,
> Sponsi Penelopæ, nebulones, Alcinoïque
> In cute curanda plus æquo operata juventus;
> Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies, et
> Ad strepitum citharæ cessatum ducere curam.

Nothing can be more unhappy than Dr. Bentley's reading for *cessatum ducere curam*, of *cessantem ducere somnum* : nor more tasteless and injudicious than Sanadon's admission of it into the text.

The island of Corfu, in the mouth of the gulf of Venice, constituted the kingdom of Alcinous. This account of the sloth and effeminacy in which the youth of that coast were sunk is taken from the eighth book of the Odyssey. Alcinous himself gives them the following character :—

> Αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαὶς τε φίλη, κίθαρίς τε, χοροί τε,
> Εἵματα τ' ἐξημοιβὰ, λοετρά τε θερμὰ, καὶ εὐναί.

A passage in Horace's fourteenth epistle approaches in some degree to the caustic severity of Juvenal, in describing the distaste a debauched town life engenders for the simple and moral pleasures of the country: —

> Fornix tibi et uncta popina
> Incutiunt urbis desiderium, video; et quod
> Angulus iste feret piper ac thus ocius uva;
> Nec vicina subest vinum præbere taberna
> Quæ possit tibi; nec meretrix tibicina, cujus
> Ad strepitum salias terræ gravis.

The following passage aptly illustrates the necessity of congenial genius, or at all events of refined taste, to render imitation respectable. The common herd of imitators are incapable of appreciating the real merits of their models, and therefore generally run foul of every fault and every defect, but steer clear of the beauty and excellence. —

> Quid? si quis vultu torvo ferus, et pede nudo,
> Exiguæque togæ simulet textore Catonem,
> Virtutemne repræsentet moresque Catonis?
> Rupit Hiarbitam Timagenis æmula lingua,
> Dum studet urbanus, tenditque disertus haberi.

The sixteenth ode of the third book opens with a moral satire against avarice, holding out riches as the greatest evil, and an honest and contented mediocrity as the greatest good. But this is not, as has been stated, the whole design. By a delicate transition from generalities to personal application, he instances himself as an example of moderation, and his patron of generosity. Mæcenas had presented him with a small country seat; and he professes to be as much gratified as if he had been made governor of a province.—

Inclusam Danaën turris ahenea,
Robustæque fores, et vigilum canum
Tristes excubiæ munierant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris;
Si non Acrisium virginis abditæ
Custodem pavidum Jupiter et Venus
Risissent: fore enim tutum iter et patens,
Converso in pretium Deo.

The story of Acrisius, the last king of Argos, who being warned by an oracle that he should be deprived of his kingdom, and put to death by his grandson, resolved, if possible, to hinder his daughter Danae from having any children, and thus prevent the accomplishment of the oracle, is beautifully told. *Robustus* signifies made of oak. *Robusteus* is used by Varro and Vitruvius: *roboreus* by Columella and Ovid: *roburneus* by Columella. The Latins used *adulter* simply for a lover. The opposition of character is beautifully managed, and Acrisius's conduct and motives comprised in the single epithet *pavidum*. Horace follows the common and ancient opinion, that Jupiter transformed himself into a shower of gold.

The character of Tigellius is among Horace's most happy and brilliant delineations. The affectation of intimacy with persons of royal and noble rank, founded on casual contact in public or mixed company, is not unknown to modern times: —

Modo reges atque tetrarchas,
Omnia magna loquens; modo; Sit mihi mensa tripes et
Concha salis puri, et toga quæ defendere frigus
Quamvis crassa queat. Decies centena dedisses
Huic parvo, paucis contento; quinque diebus
Nil erat in loculis.

The table with three feet is the emblem of ancient frugality. No other was known till after the introduction of Asiatic luxury: but when tables with four feet like our own were once introduced, none but the lower classes of the people would use those of the antiquated form. The mention of the *concha salis puri* is a happy stroke at Tigellius's alternate adoption of extreme rusticity. The superstition attaching to salt throughout the ancient world, and in all half-civilised countries, is remarkable. Selden tells us, "that the old Gauls (whose customs and the British were near the same) had their orbicular tables to avoid controversy of precedency, a form much commended by a late writer for the like distance of all from the salt, being centre, first, and last, of the furniture." * We are to infer from this, that our British ancestors placed a vessel in the middle of their round table, filled with a sufficient quantity of salt to serve the whole company; we may suppose that the vessel was considerably ornamented, probably bearing some resemblance to our modern *epergne*. So the Romans had their *salinum*, forming a leading feature in their laws of hospitality. To do an injury to any one with whom they had partaken of salt was a crime against religion, and required a peculiar expiation. But Tigellius was satisfied with a mere shell, to hold as much salt as he could himself consume, and professed not to

* In compliance with popular superstition, it was an ancient custom to place a quantity of salt on the breast of a corpse. Salt also entered into the composition of an oath: — "He took bread and salt by this light, that he would never open his lips." — *The Honest Whore*, Act 5. Scene 12.

aim at that more stately furniture, which would have been necessary for the reception of guests.

The Roman reckoning by sesterces was extremely troublesome. *Decies centena* means *decies centena millia.* Another expression was, *decies millia:* sometimes *decies* alone, or *decies sestercium.* The lesser sesterce was twopence all but half a farthing of our money. This makes the reduction of a large sum to our denominations a delicate operation in arithmetic. A million of sesterces amounted to 7812*l.* 10*s.*

Horace's courtly principles are evinced in the following line: —

> Principibus placuisse viris, non ultima laus est.
>
> *Epist.* lib. i. ep. 17.

> Horrida tempestas cœlum contraxit; et imbres
> Nivesque deducunt Jovem.

In this little piece, nothing can be more pleasant than the manner in which Epicurean suggestions are delivered with all the pomp and gravity of the Stoic school. The real drift seems to be, condolence with some friend on a reverse of fortune. The preceptor of Achilles is introduced as delivering the oracles of wisdom to his pupil, which far from being the lecture of a pedagogue, turn out to be an invitation to reflect on the shortness of life, not for the purpose of enhancing care, but of expelling it by music, wine, and company.

Horace speaks with indignation of the effeminacy prevalent in the camp of Antony and Cleopatra: and its effect in occasioning the desertion of the Gallogræci: —

Interque signa turpe militaria
Sol aspicit conopeum.
Ad hoc frementes verterant bis mille equos
Galli, canentes Cæsarem;
Hostiliumque navium portu latent
Puppes sinistrorsum sitæ.

The Κωνωπεῖον was a sort of tent-bed, in common use with the Egyptians as a protection against mosquitos, from the Greek κώνωπες, in Latin *culices*; but queens and princesses were very splendid and luxurious in the furniture of those beds.

The following protest in the Art of Poetry, against destroying the probability of dramatic representation by the introduction of such chimæras as nurses and foolish mothers frighten children with, is well pointed by the spectre which was supposed after seducing to devour young persons, and derived its name from the Greek λαιμὸς, meaning the gullet or gluttony: —

Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris;
Ne, quodcunque volet, poscat sibi fabula credi;
Nec pransæ Lamiæ vivum puerum extrahat alvo.

Horace seems to think that who drives fat oxen must himself be fat; and that Homer and Ennius must have acquired gout as well as fame by their praises of wine: —

Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus.
Ennius ipse pater nunquam nisi potus ad arma
Prosiluit dicenda. *Epist.* lib. i. ep. 19.

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES FROM JUVENAL.

Proximus ejusdem properabat Acilius ævi
Cum juvene indigno, quem mors tam sæva maneret,
Et domini gladiis jam festinata: sed olim
Prodigio par est in nobilitate senectus:
Unde fit, ut malim fraterculus esse gigantum.
Profuit ergo nihil misero, quod cominus ursos
Figebat Numidas, Albana nudus arena
Venator: quis enim jam non intelligat artes
Patricias? quis priscum illud miretur acumen,
Brute, tuum? facile est barbato imponere regi.

Sat. iv.

The Acilius here mentioned was Acilius Glabrio, of whom little is known, but that he was a senator of singular prudence and fidelity. The victim of Domitian's cruelty, alluded to in the following lines, is supposed by some of the commentators, and most of the translators, to have been Domitius, the son of Acilius. They were both charged with designs against the emperor, and condemned to death. The father's sentence was changed into banishment, with a show of mercy, substantially designed as an aggravation, that at the advanced age of eighty, when a good man is prepared to die, he might linger out some superfluous days in the remembrance of his son's undeserved suffering for treason, which, like his own, amounted probably to

no more than a suspicion of virtue. Whether they were father and son or not, the young man had imitated the well-known trick of the elder Brutus, in feigning fatuity. When Domitian celebrated his annual games at Alba, in honour of Minerva, this youth fought naked with wild beasts in the amphitheatre: but Domitian was not to be deceived by such affectation of insanity; and sent him to execution with circumstances of extreme cruelty, and under various methods of torture. But Juvenal's allusions are so slight, that sometimes we cannot trace the facts in what remains of history; and, at other times, the *innuendo* seems to admit of more than one application. At the Quinquatria, Domitian was in the habit of exhibiting pairs of noblemen in combat with wild beasts on the stage. If they conquered, it was imputed as a crime. Dio relates either this, or a similar story. The impiety charged on so many appears to have been a propensity to what he calls Judaism, which the Romans continually confounded with Christianity: — Ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἤθη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν . . . τὸν δὲ δὴ Γλαβρίωνα τὸν μετὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἄρξαντα, κατηγορήθεντα τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ οἷα οἱ πολλοὶ, καὶ ὅτι καὶ θηρίοις ἐμάχετο, ἀπέκτεινεν. Thus did Domitian sport with the lives of his subjects. But the practice of cutting off the nobility, from jealousy, fear, or hatred, had prevailed from the days of Nero: so that the poet professes, he would prefer being a *Terræ filius* and a squab brother of the giants, to a descent from the most illustrious families. The fabulous sons of Titan and Tellus rebelled and fought against Jupiter; but even that hazard is not equal to standing up against the overwhelming power of Domitian. Neither was

he to be cajoled by the stratagem of playing the fool, like Tarquin the Proud. Domitius had miscarried in the policy, which had saved Lucius Junius Brutus, when his brother and many of the nobility had been destroyed. David had recourse to a similar device at the court of Achish, king of Gath.

Juvenal professes a wish to leave Rome, and banish himself to the most inhospitable regions, rather than hear hypocrites preach morality: —

Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet, et glacialem
Oceanum, quoties aliquid de moribus audent
Qui Curios simulant, et Bacchanalia vivunt.

Sat. ii.

The Sauromatæ were the people of Asiatic and European Sarmatia, the Asiatic Sauromatæ being the inhabitants of modern Tartary, the European those of modern Russia.

In the following very spirited passage of Lucan, the Northern Ocean, which was perpetually frozen, is called the Scythian Sea, as washing the shores of Scythia: —

Quis furor, o cives? quæ tanta licentia ferri,
Gentibus invisis Latium præbere cruorem?
Cumque superba foret Babylon spolianda tropæis
Ausonia, umbraque erraret Crassus inulta;
Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos?
Heu! quantum terræ potuit, pelagique, parari
Hoc, quem civiles hauserunt, sanguine, dextræ!
Unde venit Titan, et nox ubi sidera condit,
Quaque dies mediis flagrantibus æstuat horis,
Et qua bruma rigens, ac nescia vere remitti,

Adstringit Scythicum glaciali frigore pontum.
Sub juga jam Seres, jam barbarus isset Araxes,
Et gens si qua jacet nascenti conscia Nilo.

The popular characters of Heraclitus, and Democritus, as the weeping and laughing philosophers, though a vulgar error, were particularly well suited to the purposes of moral satire, and are admirably handled by Juvenal: —

Jamne igitur laudas, quod de sapientibus alter
Ridebat, quoties a limine moverat unum
Protuleratque pedem: flebat contrarius alter?
Sed facilis cuivis rigidi censura cachinni:
Mirandum est, unde ille oculis suffecerit humor.
Perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat
Democritus, quanquam non essent urbibus illis
Prætexta, et trabeæ, fasces, lectica, tribunal.
Quid, si vidisset Prætorem in curribus altis
Extantem, et medio sublimem in pulvere circi,
In tunica Jovis, et pictæ Sarrana ferentem
Ex humeris aulæa togæ, magnæque coronæ
Tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla?
Quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus, et sibi Consul
Ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.
Da nunc et volucrem sceptro quæ surgit eburno,
Illinc cornicines, hinc præcedentia longi
Agminis officia, et niveos ad frena Quirites,
Defossa in loculis quos sportula fecit amicos.
Tunc quoque materiam risus invenit ad omnes
Occursus hominum; cujus prudentia monstrat,
Summos posse viros, et magna exempla daturos,
Vervecum in patria, crassoque sub aëre nasci.

The Thracian Abdera, and Bœotia in general, laboured considerably under the stigma of stupidity, although Bœotia was in some measure

redeemed from the general censure by the individual greatness of Pindar. Still however, Abdera was called the country of sheep, and Bœotia that of hogs. We also indulge occasionally in academical nicknames to particular colleges.

The satire on the various official ensigns, the fopperies of augural appendages, the patrician and consular robes, and the pompous display of the prætor as presiding at the Circensian Games furnishes as fine a specimen of the serious and severe style of invective, as any to be found in the works of this indignant poet.

The following irony on the superstitions of mythology, and particularly on the fable of Prometheus, and the sarcastic indignation expressed against the cruelties and unnatural practices occasioned by bigotry, are among the very striking passages of the author: —

Hinc gaudere libet, quod non violaverit ignem,
Quem summa cœli raptum de parte Prometheus
Donavit terris: elemento gratulor, et te
Exsultare reor: sed qui mordere cadaver
Sustinuit, nihil unquam hac carne libentius edit:
Nam scelere in tanto ne quæras, aut dubites, an
Prima voluptatem gula senserit: ultimus autem
Qui stetit absumpto jam toto corpore, ductis
Per terram digitis, aliquid de sanguine gustat.
Vascones (ut fama est) alimentis talibus usi
Produxere animas: sed res diversa: sed illic
Fortunæ invidia est, bellorumque ultima, casus
Extremi, longæ dira obsidionis egestas.
Hujus enim, quod nunc agitur, miserabile debet
Exemplum esse cibi. Sat. 15.

The contrast in the case of the Vascons, who sustained a siege from Cn. Pompey and Metellus,

and were driven by the pressure of famine to eat human flesh, is well introduced, to show that the rage of the satirist is not so indiscriminate, as to confound the cravings of nature with the wantonness of barbarous and unnatural appetite. But among all the superstitions of Rome, none had more completely taken possession of the popular mind, than the belief in astrology. It has indeed been the most universal and enduring of all credulous follies, and more or less occupies the vulgar even in these enlightened times. Women have always been peculiarly prone to a belief in the influence of the stars. Juvenal therefore takes up the subject in satire vi. which is devoted to the reprehension of female vices and weaknesses: —

Præcipuus tamen est horum, qui sæpius exul,
Cujus amicitia, conducendaque tabella
Magnus civis obit, et formidatus Othoni.
Inde fides arti, sonuit si dextera ferro
Lævaque, si longo castrorum in carcere mansit.
Nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit;
Sed qui pene perit: cui vix in Cyclada mitti
Contigit, et parva tandem caruisse Seripho.
Consulit ictericæ lento de funere matris,
Ante tamen de te, Tanaquil tua; quando sororem
Efferat, et patruos: an sit victurus adulter
Post ipsam: quid enim majus dare numina possunt?
Hæc tamen ignorat, quid sidus triste minetur
Saturni; quo læta Venus se proferat astro;
Qui mensis damno, quæ dentur tempora lucro.
Illius occursus etiam vitare memento,
In cujus manibus, ceu pinguia succina, tritas
Cernis ephemeridas; quæ nullum consulit, et jam
Consulitur; quæ castra viro patriamque petente,
Non ibit pariter, numeris revocata Thrasylli.
Ad primum lapidem vectari cum placet, hora

Sumitur ex libro; si prurit frictus ocelli
Angulus, inspecta genesi collyria poscit.
Ægra licet jaceat, capiendo nulla videtur
Aptior hora cibo, nisi quam dederit Petosiris.

Petosiris is mentioned by Suidas under the respectable title of a philosopher. It is a common proverb, that extremes meet: and its truth is strikingly exemplified in the fate of the mathematical sciences. It might have been supposed that their severity, and the strictness of proof required by them, would have operated as a prohibition against wild and irregular fancies: yet we find that the extravagant pursuit of truth itself leads to error; a result which also takes place in the enthusiastic study of religion. The mathematicians of the middle ages, and still lower, were all astrologers, though the lower class of astrologers probably were not mathematicians. To such an excess was this pretended science carried, that not only were the leading secrets of men's lives predicted, but the practising physicians prescribed with reference to them; and the stars were consulted to ascertain the propitious hour, at which the patient was to take a fresh egg or a basin of soup.

The following caution against such a course of conduct as shall make a man dependent on the secrecy of others, especially of mean persons and menials, is given with profound knowledge of the world: —

Illos ergo roges, quicquid paulo ante petebas
A nobis. Taceant illi, sed prodere malunt
Arcanum, quam subrepti potare Falerni,
Pro populo faciens quantum Laufella bibebat.
Vivendum recte, cum propter plurima, tum his

Præcipue cavēs, ut linguas municipiorum
Contemnas: nam lingua mali pars pessima servi.
Deterior tamen hic, qui liber non erit, illis
Quorum animas et farre suo custodit, et ære.

Sat. ix.

This satire has been severely condemned for its subject, which is indeed thoroughly disgusting; but the mode in which that disgusting subject has been treated, is ably vindicated by Mr. Gifford in the argument to his translation of it, against the sweeping censure of Julius Scaliger and others. Scaliger is indeed so indiscriminate as to propose the rejection of all Juvenal's works, including the moral tenth satire, on account of this proscribed subject. But surely this is carrying delicacy and refinement to extravagance; and comes too near to what an ancient friend of mine once characterised as the temper of the present age; to be more shocked at strong language than at bad actions. Mr. Gifford has vindicated his author both by reasoning, and by translating him; and my friend Mr. Hodgson, though he could have been better pleased to omit it altogether, has executed his task with perfect decency, and yet with strong impression. There are certainly many passages in this satire which one would not quote; but there are many also, the suppression of which would lessen the stock of useful moral reprobation. Mr. Hodgson in his argument quotes one passage as a beautiful example of musical cadence; and refers to the elegant complaint of the shortness of youth. In fact, the offensive passages occur principally in Nævolus's part of the dialogue; and I would add the following lines in the opening of

the satire, as a characteristic specimen of the poet, to the lines just quoted by myself, and to the passages referred to by the translator: —

> Omnia nunc contra: vultus gravis, horrida siccæ
> Sylva comæ; nullus tota nitor in cute, qualem
> Præstabat calidi circumlita fascia visci;
> Sed fruticante pilo neglecta et squallida crura.
>
> Sat. ix.

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES FROM VIRGIL.

VIRGIL concludes his fourth eclogue, with calling upon the child to distinguish his mother by her smiles; because those children, on whom their parents did not smile at their birth, were accounted unfortunate: —

Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem:
Matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses.
Incipe, parve puer: cui non risere parentes,
Nec Deus hunc mensa, Dea nec dignata cubili est.

The commentators are not all agreed, whether the poet means that the child should know its mother by her smiling on him, or that he should recognise his mother by smiling on her. The two last of the four lines can only accord with the former sense. Servius is rather inconsistent on the subject. He seems to consider this passage as involving an interchange of smiles. The passage of Catullus, *In Nuptias Juliæ et Manlii*, represents the smiles of infants very pleasingly, but at a more advanced period:—

Torquatus, volo, parvulus
Matris e gremio suæ
Porrigens teneras manus,
Dulce rideat ad patrem,
Semihiante labello.

Pliny thus speculates on the subject: — "Hominem tantum nudum et in nuda humo, natali die abjicit ad vagitus statim et ploratum, nullumque tot animalium aliud ad lacrymas, et has protinus vitæ principio. At hercules risus, præcox ille et celerrimus, ante quadragesimum diem nulli datur." The same author states a whimsical exception to his general rule, with what he seems to consider as a physical cause for it, in the instance of a great philosopher:—"Risisse eodem die, quo genitus esset unum hominem accepimus Zoroastrem. Eidem cerebrum ita palpitasse, ut impositam repelleret manum, futuræ præsagio scientiæ."

In St. John's gospel there is a beautiful description of the maternal feeling:—"A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow, because her hour is come: but as soon as she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world."

Another objection to the application of the smiling to the child, is the strained sense it forces on *cognoscere*, to own by smiles, which, on every principle of compounding prepositions with verbs, should have been expressed by *agnoscere*.

Servius has an absurd explanatory note on *decem menses*, inferring from the expression that males are born in the tenth month, females in the ninth. But the difference between lunar and calendar months will justify the number generally without having recourse to a distinction so trifling, and so entirely unfounded in truth. Pliny states the variations even of the lunar month. The passage is worth giving at length, as illustrative of his astronomical notions:—"Proxima ergo cardini, ideoque minimo ambitu, vicenis diebus septenisque,

et tertia diei parte peragit spatia eadem, quæ Saturni sidus altissimum triginta (ut dictum est) annis. Deinde morata in coitu Solis biduo, cum tardissime e tricesima luce rursus ad easdem vices exit: haud scio an omnium, quæ in cœlo pernosci potuerunt, magistra: In duodecim mensium spatia oportere dividi annum, quando ipsa toties Solem redeuntem ad principia, consequitur. Solis fulgore reliqua siderum regi, siquidem in toto mutuata ab eo luce fulgere, qualem in repercussu aquæ volitare conspicimus: ideo molliore et imperfecta vi solvere tantum humorem, atque etiam augere, quem Solis radii absumant: Ideo et inæquali lumine aspici: quia ex adverso demum plena, reliquis diebus tantum ex se terris ostendat, quantum ex Sole ipsa concipiat: In coitu quidem non cerni: quoniam haustum omnem lucis aversa illo regerat, unde acceperit: Sidera vero haud dubie humore terreno pasci, quia orbe dimidio nonnumquam maculosa cernatur, scilicet nondum suppetente ad hauriendum ultra justa vi: maculas enim non aliud esse quam terræ raptas cum humore sordes: Defectus autem suos, et Solis, rem in tota contemplatione naturæ maxime miram, et ostento similem, eorum magnitudinum, umbræque indices exsistere."

The same author gives the opinion of his age respecting the indefinite periods of human parturition: — "Ceteris animantibus statum et pariendi et partus gerendi tempus est: homo toto anno, et incerto gignitur spatio. Alius septimo mense, alius octavo, et usque ad initia decimi undecimique. Ante septimum mensem haud unquam vitalis est."

In another place he gives an individual instance of this uncertainty: — "Vestilia C. Herdicii, ac

postea Pomponii, atque Orfiti clarissimorum civium conjux, ex his quatuor partus enixa, septimo semper mense, genuit Suilium Rufum undecimo, Corbulonem septimo, utrumque Consulem: postea Cæsoniam Caii principis conjugem, octavo."

Ovid, in the third book of his Fasti, accounts for the division of the old year in reference to this calculation, without any distinction of male or female:—

> Annus erat; decimum cum Luna repleverat orbem.
> Hic numerus magno tunc in honore fuit.
> Seu quia tot digiti, per quos numerare solemus:
> Seu quia bis quino femina mense parit.

Servius says, that in the passage of Virgil, some read *abstulerint*, making the sense, *Si riseris, abstulerint decem menses matri tuæ longa fastidia:* but other commentators justly think that interpretation ridiculous.

Qui is used by some editors for *cui*, on the authority of Quinctilian: — "Est figura et in numero: vel cum singulari pluralis subjungitur, *Gladio pugnacissima gens Romani: gens* enim ex multis: vel e diverso,

> Qui non risere parentes,
> Nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

Ex illis enim, *qui* non risere, *hunc* non dignatus deus, nec dea dignata."

The testimony of Quinctilian therefore, in adopting this reading, goes to the sense, *those who have not smiled on their parents*, with the additional harshness of considering *hunc* as used for *hos*. Ruæus also considers the passage as a denunciation of some imminent calamity to the child, if

he know not his mother by a smile. An additional proof that this is not the right sense is derived from the use of the dative case after the same verb in the following passage of the fifth Æneid:—

Risit pater optimus olli,
Et clypeum efferri jussit, Didymaonis artes,
Neptuni, sacro Danaïs, de poste refixum:
Hoc juvenem egregium præstanti munere donat.

The most approved meaning is this:—"Begin sweet boy to know thy parents by their smile; for thy parents must smile upon thee before thou canst be advanced to the life of the gods." A preceding passage confirms this:—

Ille Deum vitam accipiet, Divisque videbit
Permistos heroas, et ipse videbitur illis;
Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.
Bucol. ecl. iv.

He elsewhere expresses the employments of immortality in a most spirited and beautiful manner, and makes it the vehicle of a highly wrought compliment to Augustus:—

Tuque adeo, quem mox quæ sint habitura Deorum
Concilia, incertum est; urbisne invisere, Cæsar,
Terrarumque velis curam, et te maximus orbis
Auctorem frugum, tempestatumque potentem
Accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto;
An Deus immensi venias maris; ac tua nautæ
Numina sola colant; tibi serviat ultima Thule,
Teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis:
Anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
Qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentes
Panditur: ipse tibi jam brachia contrahit ardens
Scorpius, et cœli justa plus parte reliquit.
Georg. lib. i.

Sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti:
Inque vicem speculantur aquas et nubila cœli;
Aut onera accipiunt venientum; aut agmine facto,
Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent.
Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.
Georg. lib. iv.

In one of the Arundelian manuscripts, for *portas cecidit,* is read *portam tendit.* The three last lines of this passage are repeated in the first Æneid. The drones are the males without stings: and as they do not assist the others in their labour, after fecundation, they are expelled from the hive by the labouring bees. A French commentator confounds the *drones* with *wasps. Urgent* is read for *arcent* in the Arundelian manuscript, and *flagrantia* for *fragrantia* in the Lombard and both Dr. Mead's.

Quid Syrtes, aut Scylla mihi, quid vasta Charybdis
Profuit? optato conduntur Thybridis alveo,
Securi pelagi, atque mei. Mars perdere gentem
Immanem Lapithum valuit: concessit in iras
Ipse Deum antiquam genitor Calydona Dianæ:
Quod scelus aut Lapithis tantum, aut Calydona merentem?
Ast ego, magna Jovis conjunx, nil linquere inausum
Quæ potui infelix, quæ memet in omnia verti,
Vincor ab Ænea. Quod, si mea numina non sunt
Magna satis, dubitem haud equidem implorare quod usquam est:
Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.
Æn. lib. vii.

The speech of Juno, of which this is a part, is particularly fine throughout. The character of the

goddess is grandly and consistently supported: the sentiments are characteristic of a mind, determined to go all lengths in the attainment of its object.

The ancients roasted their meat on wooden spits, either of hazel or of service. So in lib. ii. of the Georgics: —

Ergo rite suum Baccho dicemus honorem
Carminibus patriis, lancesque et liba feremus;
Et ductus cornu stabit sacer hircus ad aram,
Pinguiaque in verubus torrebimus exta colurnis.

The *libum* was a sort of holy cake. The victims were led to the altar with a slack rope: if they were reluctant it was considered as a bad omen. The spits were made of hazel on this occasion, because that tree was destructive to the vines, as we find at verse 299. So the goat was sacrificed to Bacchus, because that animal is highly injurious to vines.

Neve tibi ad solem vergant vineta cadentem;
Neve inter vites corylum sere; neve flagella
Summa pete, aut summa distringe ex arbore plantas;
Tantus amor terræ! neu ferro læde retuso
Semina; neve oleæ silvestres insere truncos.

The precepts here given relating to vineyards are curious. The objection to the hazel was the size and extent of the roots. It is worth while to compare the poet with the practical writer, who in a great measure followed his steps. With respect to aspect, Virgil only protests against an exposure to the setting sun: Columella is diffuse in his regulations: — "Quæ cuncta, sicut ego reor, magis

prosunt, cum suffragatur etiam status cœli; cujus quam regionem spectare debeant vineæ, vetus est dissensio, Saserna maxime probante solis ortum, mox deinde meridiem, tum occasum: Tremellio Scrofa præcipuam positionem meridianam censente: Virgilio de industria occasum repudiante: Democrito et Magone laudantibus cœli plagam septentrionalem, quia existiment ei subjectas feracissimas fieri vineas, quæ tamen bonitate vini superentur. Nobis in universum præcipere optimum visum est, ut in locis frigidis meridiano vineta subjiciantur; tepidis orienti advertantur: si tamen non infestabantur Austris Eurisque, velut oræ maritimæ in Bœtica. Sin autem regiones prædictis ventis fuerint obnoxiæ, melius Aquiloni vel Favonio committentur. nam ferventibus provinciis, ut Ægypto et Numidia, uni septentrioni rectius opponentur."

Columella's doctrine respecting cuttings is as follows: — "Optima habentur a lumbis; secunda ab humeris; tertia a summa vite lecta, quæ celerrime comprehendunt, et sunt feraciora, sed ea quoque celeriter senescunt." He also, like Virgil, forbids the use of a blunt knife: — "Super cætera illud etiam censemus, ut duris tenuissimisque et acutissimis ferramentis totum istud opus exequamur. obtusa enim et hebes et mollis falx putatorem moratur, eoque minus operis efficit, et plus laboris affert vinitori. Nam si curvatur acies, quod accidit molli; sive tardius penetrat, quod evenit in retuso et crasso ferramento; majore nisu est opus. tum etiam plagæ asperæ atque inæquales vites lacerant. neque enim uno sed sæpius repetito ictu res transigitur. quo plerumque fit, ut quod præcidi debeat præfringatur, et sic vitis laniata scabrataque pu-

trescat humoribus, nec plagæ consanentur. Quare magnopere monendus putator est, ut prolixet aciem ferramenti, et quantum possit novaculæ similem reddat."

Summa flagella, we may infer from an observation of Mr. Miller, means the upper part of the shoot, which ought to be cut off: — "You should always make choice of such shoots as are strong and well-ripened of the last year's growth. These should be cut from the old vine, just below the place where they were produced, taking a knot of the two year's wood, which should be pruned smooth: then you should *cut off the upper part of the shoot*, so as to leave the cutting about sixteen inches long. Now in making the cuttings after this manner, there can be but one taken from each shoot; whereas most persons cut them into lengths of about a foot, and plant them all, which is very wrong: for the upper parts of the shoots are never so well ripened as the lower part, which was produced early in the spring; so that, if they do take root, they never make so good plants; for the wood of those cuttings being spungy and soft, admits the moisture too freely, whereby the plants will be luxuriant in growth, but never so fruitful as such whose wood is closer and more compact."

The classical traveller in Italy will trace with interest the geographical and picturesque descriptions of Virgil, especially such as were the scenes of religious rites and oracular superstitions, selected for those purposes as being calculated to impress awe on those uninitiated in natural knowledge. Of this kind in particular were regions of subterranean fire or sulphureous exhalations: —

At rex, sollicitus monstris, oracula Fauni,
Fatidici genitoris, adit, lucosque sub alta
Consulit Albunea; nemorum quæ maxima sacro
Fonte sonat, sævamque exhalat opaca mephitim.
Æn. lib. vii.

The voyage of Æneas would be well worth making, with the poem in hand, to mark the truth with which the permanent works of nature are delineated, and to meditate on the faint traces remaining of what constituted human grandeur in ages long past: —

Hinc altas cautes projectaque saxa Pachyni
Radimus; et fatis nunquam concessa moveri
Apparet Camarina procul, campique Geloi,
Immanisque Gela, fluvii cognomine dicta.
Æn. lib. iii.

The *Aloïdes* are celebrated by Virgil, in connection with the Titans and the Giants: —

Hic et Aloïdas geminos, immania vidi
Corpora; qui manibus magnum rescindere cœlum
Aggressi, superisque Jovem detrudere regnis.
Æn. lib. vi.

The story of Metabus, king of Privernum in the country of the Volscians, is justly dealt with by the moral poet, in the Æneid, lib. xi.: —

Pulsus ob invidiam regno viresque superbas,
Priverno antiqua Metabus cum excederet urbe,
Infantem, fugiens media inter prælia belli,
Sustulit exsilio comitem, matrisque vocavit
Nomine Casmillæ, mutata parte, Camillam.

The consequences of indulging tyrannical dispositions to a man in whom natural affections were notwithstanding strong, are pathetically touched:—

Non illum tectis ullæ, non mœnibus, urbes
Accepere, neque ipse manus feritate dedisset:
Pastorum et solis exegit montibus ævum.

The scene between Æneas and his father, in the shades below, is one of the most striking, and the most highly wrought achievements of the poet, combining high romantic interest with political instruction: —

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hæ tibi erunt artes: pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.
Sic pater Anchises, atque hæc mirantibus addit.
Adspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis,
Ingreditur, victorque viros supereminet omnes.
Hic rem Romanam, magno turbante tumultu,
Sistet, eques sternet Pœnos, Gallumque rebellem;
Tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.
Atque hic Æneas, (una namque ire videbat
Egregium forma juvenem et fulgentibus armis;
Sed frons læta parum, et dejecto lumina vultu.)

Æn. lib. vi.

From the first line of this passage, Alexander Severus fancied he derived an omen of that imperial dignity, to which many years afterwards he was raised.

The infant civilisation of Rome is thus picturesquely described by our poet: —

Et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis?
Aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?
Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivæ,
Sacra ferens? nosco crines incanaque menta
Regis Romani. *Æn.* lib. vi.

Not the least of Virgil's merits are those common-place descriptions, which set originality at defiance, and yet engage and gratify the mind by their unobtrusive simplicity and elegance: —

Tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus ægris
Incipit, et dono Divum gratissima serpit.
Æn. lib. ii.

The cave of the sibyl, her character and office, are thus described: —

At pius Æneas arces quibus altus Apollo
Præsidet, horrendæque procul secreta Sibyllæ,
Antrum immane, petit: magnam cui mentem, animumque
Delius inspirat vates, aperitque futura.
Æn. lib. vi.

The following passage on the subject of Queen Amata, the wife of King Latinus, is elegant and spirited: —

Regina, ut tectis venientem prospicit hostem,
Incessi muros, ignes ad tecta volare,
Nusquam acies contra Rutulas, nulla agmina Turni,
Infelix pugnæ juvenem in certamine credit
Extinctum; et, subito mentem turbata dolore,
Se caussam clamat, crimenque, caputque malorum;

Multaque per mœstum demens effata furorem,
Purpureos moritura manu discindit amictus,
Et nodum informis leti trabe nectit ab alta.

Erichthonius was the son of Dardanus, and father of Tros. The Phrygians discovered the art of driving a chariot and pair; but Erichthonius was the founder of the Four-in-Hand Club: —

Primus Erichthonius currus et quatuor ausus
Jungere equos, rapidusque rotis insistere victor.
Georg. lib. iii.

Servius, in a note on this passage, tells us, that Erichthonius being, according to the etymology of his name, ἔρις and χθὼν, the offspring of strife and earth, was not *accommodated with shoes*, but incommoded with tails of serpents instead of feet. Stripping the story of its mythological marvels, he was probably what we call club-footed. It was to conceal this deformity, we are told, that he improved the science of the whip. As there is no evidence that the ancient chariots had aprons, the concealment could only have been effected, as withdrawing the eye of the spectator from his feet, by the skill and elegance with which he squared his elbows. Independently, however, of all personal vanity, the moral probably goes no further, than that a carriage is particularly convenient to a lame man.

Nec vero terræ ferre omnes omnia possunt.

Adspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem,
Eoasque domos Arabum, pictosque Gelonos;

Divisæ arboribus patriæ: sola India nigrum
Fert ebenum; solis est thurea virga Sabæis.

The Geloni were a Scythian tribe, with painted faces after the manner of other barbarous nations, for the purpose of inspiring terror in war. Ebony was the produce of India and Ethiopia. This elegant wood, of which there are three kinds, black, red, and green, was first brought to Rome when Pompey triumphed over Mithridates. The geography of distant countries was so imperfectly known to the Romans, that they reckoned Ethiopia as a part of India: a circumstance which accounts for the apparent inaccuracy and confusion both of natural historians and poets, in fixing the locality of various productions.

The following catalogue of allegorical personages is remarkable at once for the grandeur of the grouping, and a severely tasteful parsimony in the use of characteristic epithets or adjuncts: —

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus Orci,
Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curæ;
Pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus,
Et Metus, et malesuada Fames, ac turpis Egestas,
Terribiles visu formæ; Letumque Laborque;
Tum, consanguineus Leti, Sopor, et mala mentis
Gaudia; mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,
Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, et Discordia demens,
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

The epithet *malesuada* to famine, as a pernicious counsellor, often leading her thrall to bad actions, is one of the happiest concentrations of an important sentiment in a single word, to be met with even in this author so happy in his epithets.

The enumeration of crimes and punishments is concluded in the spirit, and almost in the words, of Homer: —

Non, mihi si linguæ centum sint, oraque centum,
Ferrea vox, omnes scelerum comprendere formas,
Omnia pœnarum percurrere nomina possim.

Æn. lib. vi.

In the enumeration of the topics, which constituted the song of Iopas, Virgil has followed his master, Homer, especially adopting, as far as his inferior language would admit, the ἦλιος ἀκάμας, without repose and yet without weariness, both which ideas are involved in the Greek epithet: —

Hic canit errantem lunam, solisque labores;
Unde hominum genus, et pecudes; unde imber, et ignes;
Arcturum, pluviasque Hyadas, geminosque Triones;
Quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles
Hiberni, vel quæ tardis mora noctibus obstet.

Orion seems to be derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρίνειν, from disturbing and troubling. This is the character attributed to that constellation by common consent of all the ancient poets, astrologers, and historians; a most formidable star, leading rain, hail, and storm in its train. Thus Virgil, Æneid, lib. i.: —

Huc cursus fuit:
Quum, subito adsurgens fluctu, nimbosus Orion
In vada cæca tulit, penitusque procacibus austris,
Perque undas, superante salo, perque invia saxa
Dispulit: huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris.

We have a spirited description of Styx, that river of which the gods themselves stood in awe: —

Æneas, miratus enim, motusque tumultu,
Dic, ait, o virgo! quid vult concursus ad amnem?
Quidve petunt animæ? vel quo discrimine ripas
Hæ linquunt, illæ remis vada livida verrunt?
Olli sic breviter fata est longæva sacerdos:
Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles,
Cocyti stagna alta vides, Stygiamque paludem,
Dî cujus jurare timent, et fallere, numen.

Æn. lib. vi.

The length of this article warns me to stop; though the topics of laudatory criticism afforded by the subject are inexhaustible. It will be perceived, that neither in this, nor in my other collections of miscellaneous passages, has my choice fallen on the most conspicuous parts of the respective authors. My object in making such selections has rather been, to lead my younger readers to look at others besides what may be called the *Elegant Extract* passages of the classics, not only with a critical eye, but in reference to those deductions and practical applications, which almost every sentence of an eminent author, whether ancient or modern, may furnish to acute, inquisitive, and reflecting minds.

QUAINT OPINIONS, EXPRESSIONS, AND MANNERS OF THE ANCIENTS.

Anima certe, quia spiritus est, in sicco habitare non potest.—*S. Augustin.*

Pliny says of the bear, "Nec alteri animalium in maleficio stultitia solertior." — Lib. viii. This is indeed a quaint and paradoxical attribute of Bruin's character. Not that the paradox involved in the antithesis, *solertior stultitia*, will not admit of an explanation analogous to that of *vis inertiæ*, and many similar combinations; but we are at a loss what to do with *in maleficio*. Folly may be busy, and bustling in left-handed attempts to do good, in impotent or accidentally successful efforts to do evil: but a consistent and well followed up plot of mischief, and nothing else could deserve the epithet of *solers*, must be an effort of strength, and not an ebullition of weakness. Harduin's reading of *astutia* for *stultitia*, proposed conjecturally without a shadow of authority, takes away the point and epigram of the sentence, and leaves the bare statement of a fact, probably in all the truth of natural history.

The Flibbertigibbet of Shakspeare and the Great Unknown is in close alliance with those familiar spirits or hobgoblins, conceived by the ancients to amuse themselves by wrestling with men merely to put them into a fright. Puck is

the most delightful of all hobgoblins; and Sir Joshua Reynolds, in his picture painted for the Shakspeare Gallery, proved how truly Shakspearian both his mind and pencil were. Pliny, in the preface to his Natural History, represents Plancus as humourously alluding to these ghostly opinions of the people: — "Nec Plancus illepide, cum diceretur Asinius Pollio orationes in eum parare, quæ ab ipso aut liberis post mortem Planci ederentur, ne respondere posset: *Cum mortuis non nisi larvas luctari.*"

It is a practice among the vulgar, in modern times, to call down a blessing on the sneezer. We learn from Cicero, that the same absurdity prevailed among the ancients: —"Quæ si suscipiamus, pedis offensio nobis, et abruptio corrigiæ, et sternutamenta erunt observanda." But the modern benediction is only a remnant of a more extensive and ridiculous superstition. Not only was sneezing considered as a presage of impending events, but the prosperous or adverse characters of those events was calculated by the direction in which the prophetic convulsion took place, whether to the right or to the left.

The dying speech and confession of the swan was among the most strange fancies of popular belief. It was, however, well adapted to poetical embellishment and illustration. The swans of the river Mæander were supposed to be most zealous in undertaking their own funerals. Ovid makes Dido begin her pathetic remonstrance to Æneas with an appeal to this authentic fact:—

> Sic, ubi fata vocant, udis abjectus in herbis,
> Ad vada Mæandri concinit albus olor.
>
> Epist. vii.

There has been much dispute whether Horace, in his satires, means Tiresias to sneer at Ulysses, and covertly to express his private opinion of his own art, which is the most obvious sense, and lets down the pretence of prophecy to the level of the most ordinary capacity; or whether in the words,

> O Laertiade, quidquid dicam, aut erit, aut non:
> Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo,
> *Satir.* lib. ii. sat. 5.

we are to adopt a construction, which shall make the passage a serious assertion of prophetic truth. The rules of interpretation will fairly admit the meaning to be, considering the sentence as elliptical, that whatever he says shall be, will come to pass; and whatever he says shall not be, will not take place. The probability is that Horace intended the sense to be equivocal: in disguising the real meaning of the supposed diviner, he clearly, but safely, indicates his own opinion, that their pretended skill was mere imposition, and humourously makes the prophet assert his professional character, in terms as ambiguous as those in which his policy was in the habit of couching his oracular answers.

Herodotus represents the evil consequences to the Eubœans, of having rejected the advice of an oracle, delivered in unusually intelligible terms, involving little more than the plain dictates of common sense: — Βάκιδι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός·

> Φράζεο βαρβαρόφωνον ὅταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἅλα βάλλῃ
> Βύβλινον, Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἰγας.

There were three soothsayers, of the name of Bacis. The most ancient was of Eleus in Bœotia; the second of Athens; and the third of Caphya in Arcadia, who went also by the names of Cydus and Aletes. The most wonderful stories are told of this last.

The following is a proverbial expression :—

Anguilla'st, elabitur. *Plaut. in Pseud.*

Among the number of strange fancies, is one, attaching to the number ten. The ancients thought, and many of the summer bathers at Brighton and Margate continue to think, that the tenth wave is larger, stronger, and more overwhelming than the other nine. If the military writers talk to us about the decuman legion and the decuman gate, the authors on natural history and agriculture talk of decuman pears being very fine and large; and we are gravely told, that the tenth egg is always the largest. Is not the tenth pig also the most plump of the litter? The decuman gate, we are told, was so called on account of its size. If its dimensions were imposing, its purpose was awful: — "Decumana autem porta quæ appellatur, post prætorium est, per quam delinquentes milites educuntur ad portam."—*Veget.*

Pomponius Mela tells us of a bandy-legged or baker-kneed nation in Ethiopia. Their name is derived from τμας. "Ab eo tractu, quem feræ infestant, proximi sunt Himantopodes, inflexi lentis cruribus, quos serpere potius quam ingredi referunt; deinde Pharusii, aliquando, tendente ad Hesperidas Hercule, dites; nunc inculti, et, nisi quod pecore aluntur, admodum inopes." — Lib. iii. cap. ult.

Seneca gives a very humourous account of persons leading a sort of antipodean life, doing every thing by contraries, and living by candle-light. It seems an anticipation of modern hours in the fashionable world: — "Excedebat, inquit, cœna ejus diem? Minime! valde enim frugaliter vivebat; nihil consumebat, nisi noctem. Itaque, crebro dicentibus illum quibusdam avarum et sordidum: Vos, inquit, illum et lychnobium dicatis! Non debes admirari, si tantas invenis vitiorum proprietates: varia sunt; innumerabiles habent facies; comprendi eorum genera non possunt."

SOUND MORAL DOCTRINES OF THE ANCIENTS.

Ἀγάπη οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῆς. — *Plato, in Symposio.*

Whatever we may think respecting the deterioration of style in the time of the Senecas, it seems as if Christian habits of thinking, marked by a more just feeling and philosophy, had thus early made a silent progress in the heathen mind. The following sentiment may indeed be found in anterior authors, but I doubt whether it be any where so simply and correctly stated :—

> Nemo tam Divos habuit faventes,
> Crastinum ut possit sibi polliceri.
>
> *Senec. in Thyeste.*

Ovid is not the poet to whom we should preferably recur for morality. Yet the great principle of the connection between occupation and virtue is strongly stated and exemplified by him in his elegiac poem De Remed. Amor. :—

> Quæritis, Ægisthus quare sit factus adulter ?
> In promtu caussa est : desidiosus erat.

The illustration is notorious, but strong and pointed. The general doctrine had been previously laid down :—

Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus,
Contemtæque jacent, et sine luce, faces:
Quam platanus vino gaudet, quam populus unda,
Et quam limosa canna palustris humo;
Tam Venus otia amat.

Seneca, not the tragedian, as quoted by Erasmus, but the philosopher, in the 107th of his epistles, borrows the following sentiment, closely expressed in a single iambic line, from the original Greek of Cleanthes the Stoic, whence Epictetus also transferred it to ch. 77. of his Manual:—

Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt.

POPULAR TRICKS AND SUPERSTITIOUS IMAGINATIONS OF THE ANCIENTS.

Veteres iis quos irridere volebant, cornua dormientibus capiti imponebant, vel caudam vulpis, vel quid simile.—*Scaligerana.*

THE *Sortes Virgilianæ* furnish a specimen of Pagan superstition. To enter into any explanation of them might seem like paying the reader a bad compliment: but it may not be so generally known, that under the first race of the French kings, a most profane practice was substituted for the Homeric or Virgilian lots. Three different books of the Bible were taken, for instance, the Prophecies, the Gospels, and the Epistles of St. Paul. Having laid them on the altar of some saint, by way of enhancing the piety of the proceeding, the consulters opened the books at hazard, and entered into a solemn examination of the respective texts, to ascertain in what respects they were applicable to the points they wished to ascertain. It is obvious that this would not always end in mere folly; but that the cunning contrivers of the accidental opening would take care the book should gape at such leaves, as should contain some fact or sentiment which they might wrest to the purposes they designed to promote. Louis le Débonnaire

had the merit of abolishing this custom. In the Ordinances of that emperor, the law to such effect is found in the following terms: — "Ut nullus in Psalterio, vel Evangelio, vel aliis rebus sortiri præsumat, nec divinationes aliquas observare."

But even Socrates himself was not proof against this superstition; as we learn from the following passage of Diogenes Laertius, in the Life of Socrates. It shows in a strong point of view the inconsistency of human wisdom in the wisest, that the man who could make such a reply as the following to his wife; Τῆς γυναικὸς εἰπούσης, Ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκεις, Σὺ δὲ, ἔφη, δικαίως ἐβούλου; should have had his mind affected by a *sors Homerica*, communicated in a dream: — Ὄναρ δόξας τινὰ αὐτῷ λέγειν,

Ἤματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον Ἱκοιο,

Πρὸς Αἰσχίνην ἔφη, Εἰς τρίτην ἀποθανοῦμαι.

Brutus drew a similar presage from the coincidence of his opening on the passage in the sixteenth Iliad, where Patroclus says that Fate and the son of Latona had caused his death, and Apollo being the watchword on the day of the battle of Pharsalia.

The opinions of the ancients respecting the deathbed inspiration of poets, the Sibylline and other oracles, are well known. Thus Aristophanes, in the play of The Knights: —

Ἄδει δὲ χρησμούς· εἰθ' ὁ γέρων σιβυλλιᾷ.

Actus 1. Scena 1.

Ovid gives the following account of the festival of Vesta, which was celebrated on the 9th of June, in his Fasti: —

Adspicit instantes mediis sex lucibus Idus
Illa dies, qua sunt vota soluta Deæ.
VESTA, fave: tibi nunc operata resolvimus ora:
Ad tua si nobis sacra venire licet.

Ovid's Medea, and Horace's Canidia, are both indebted to the Pharmaceutria of Theocritus for many of their love-charms. The ἴυγξ was a bird used by magicians in their incantations, supposed to be the wag-tail. The moon and the night, notwithstanding the supposed purity of Diana, have always kept bad company with sorcerers, and are the old accomplices of their abominations, as well as the receivers of lovers' vows, knowing them to be stolen: —

Βασεῦμαι ποτὶ τὰν Τιμαγήτοιο παλαίστραν
Αὔριον ὥς νιν ἴδω· καὶ μέμψομαι, οἷα με ποιεῖ.
Νῦν δὲ νιν ἐκ θυέων καλαθύσομαι. ἀλλὰ, Σελάνα,
Φαῖνε καλόν· τὶν γὰρ, ποθαείσομαι ἄσυχα, δαῖμον,
Τᾷ χθονίᾳ θ' Ἑκάτᾳ, τὰν καὶ σκύλακες τρομέοντι,
Ἐρχομένων νεκύων ἀνά τ' ἤρια, καὶ μέλαν αἷμα.
Χαῖρ' Ἑκάτα δασπλῆτι, καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄμμιν ὀπάδει,
Φάρμακα ταῦθ' ἕρδοισα χερείονα μήτέ τι Κίρκας
Μήτέ τι Μηδείας, μήτε ξανθᾶς Περιμήδας.
Ἴυγξ, ἕλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα.

Manducus was the name given to a strange figure, dressed up frightfully, with wide jaws and large teeth, carried about at public shows: —

C. Quid, si aliquo ad ludos me pro manduce locem?
L. Quapropter? C. Quia pol clare crepito dentibus.
Plautus, in Rudente.

These grotesque masks were designed partly to raise terror, and partly laughter. Juvenal also alludes to them: —

Pars magna Italiæ est, si verum admittimus, in qua
Nemo togam sumit, nisi mortuus. Ipsa dierum
Festorum herboso colitur si quando theatro
Majestas, tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
Exodium, cum personæ pallentis hiatum
In gremio matris formidat rusticus infans.
Sat. iii.

Superstition is often closely connected with vice, sometimes degenerating into it, and ultimately furnishing a mere cloak for it. The festivals and ceremonies in honour of Bacchus, celebrated by his frantic priestesses, whose very name is derived ἀπὸ τῦ μαίνεσθαι are thus indignantly described: —

Nota Bonæ secreta Deæ, cum tibia lumbos
Incitat, et cornu pariter, vinoque feruntur
Attonitæ, crinemque rotant, ululantque Priapi
Mænades. *Juvenal.* sat. vi.

Morpheus is represented as one of the children of sleep, and as taking the human semblance: —

At pater e populo natorum mille suorum
Excitat artificem, simulatoremque figuræ,
Morphea. *Ovid. Metamorph.* xi.

Another of the sons of sleep is denominated Φοβήτωρ, from the Greek φοβητρὸν, signifying affright, or a dreadful vision and phantom of night: —

> Hunc Icelon Superi, mortale Phobetora vulgus
> Nominat.

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES FROM PLUTARCH.

We have an English proverb, that cleanliness is next to godliness. The sentiment, though quaint in terms, expresses an ancient and universal feeling with all people, sufficiently civilised to have "sat in good men's seats," or to "have been knolled to church by the bell" of any religious sect, false or true. Plutarch thus describes the magnificence of the funeral made for Timoleon by the Syracusans, and attended by the people dressed in what we should call their Sunday clothes: — Προὔπεμπον δὲ πολλαὶ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, ἂν ὄψις μὲν ἦν ἑορτῇ πρέπουσα, πάντων ἐστεφανωμένων καὶ καθαρὰς ἐσθῆτας φορούντων.

The transfiguration of Christ, as recorded by Matthew, chap. xvii., forcibly illustrates the naturally received connection, between whiteness and absolute purity: — "And after six days Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart, and was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light."

There is considerable obscurity and difficulty in the following passage of Plutarch's treatise, Cur Pythia nunc non reddat Oracula carmine. In the text of Wyttenbach it stands thus: — Οἶμαι δὲ γινώσκειν τὸ παρ' Ἡρακλείτῳ λεγόμενον, ὅς' ὄναξ, οὔ τὸ μαν-

τεῖον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, οὔτε λέγει, οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει. The reading of the earliest editions, for what stands here as ὅς' ὄναξ, was ὡστ' ὄναρ, which gave rise to an erroneous opinion that the distinction of Heraclitus was this: The Delphic god no longer either declares or conceals any thing *by the instrumentality of dreams*, but signifies it *clearly*. But Amyot and Xylander agree in introducing the conjectural reading ὡς ὠ'ναξ, making the sense to be, that the king whose oracle, etc. i. e. Apollo, only furnishes a glance, or vista vision of futurity, neither explaining events categorically, nor veiling them in impenetrable darkness. The reading left by Wyttenbach to occupy the text, ὅς ὄναξ, is manifestly incorrect. The words unabbreviated must be ὡς ὁ ἄναξ.

There is much curious matter in the treatise of Plutarch on Isis and Osiris, with respect to the doctrines of Zoroaster concerning Oromazes, and Arimanius, and Mithras. Mithras was the mediatorial power between the other two, whose respective worship is thus characterised: Ἐοίδαξε μέν τῷ εὐκταίαν θύειν καὶ χαριστήρια, τῷ δὲ ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά.

The proverb, *Isiacum non facit Linostolia*, the dress does not make the monk, seems to have originated with Plutarch: — Οὔτε γὰρ φιλόσοφους παγγαμοτροφίαι καὶ τριβωνοφορίαι ποιοῦσι, οὔτε ἰατιάκους αἱ λινστολίαι.

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES FROM ERASMUS.

This elegant author was strong and bitter in his satirical paintings: as much so as Juvenal himself. The revivers of letters were naturally close copyists of the patterns they had so newly acquired: but the coarser parts of the texture were most congenial to their talents and their taste. They dealt much in general satire and personal invective: and both in their hands degenerated into abuse. The following passage from the *Encomium Moriæ* will be thought germane to the matter: — "Sed multo etiam suavius, si quis animadvertat anus, longo jam senio mortuas, adeoque cadaverosas, ut ab inferis redisse videri possint, tamen illud semper in ore habere, φῶς ἀγαθὸν: adhuc catulire, atque, ut Græci dicere solent, καπροῦν, et magna mercede conductum aliquem Phaonem inducere, fucis assidue vultum oblinere, nusquam a speculo discedere, infimæ pubis sylvam vellere, vietas ac putres ostentare mammas, tremuloque gannitu languentem solicitare cupidinem, potitare, misceri puellarum choris, literulas amatorias scribere."

The following passage is remarkable, as having furnished a subject of illustration to the pencil of Holbein: — "Rursum alios qui pecuniæ contactum ceu aconitum horreant, nec a vino interim, nec a mulierum contactu temperantes." The

Church was very sure to furnish the subject, and the order of Cordeliers was selected by the painter.

Erasmus treats the doctors of the Sorbonne and their sophistry with very little reserve. Among other imputations, he says, "Theologicæ scientiæ laudem, omnibus prope summotis, sibi peculiariter arrogant."

PASSAGE FROM SALLUST.

"POSTREMO, corporis et fortunæ bonorum, ut initium, finis est; omnia orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt: animus incorruptus, æternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur." — *Jugurth.* cap. 2.

This is a noble common-place, and at the same time a fine and favourable specimen of the author's manner. *Habet* here bears the same sense as in the following passage of Ovid: —

> Cum mihi, qui fulmen, qui vos *habeoque* regoque,
> Struxerit insidias.

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES FROM PLINY THE NATURAL HISTORIAN.

"EORUM medius Sol fertur, amplissima magnitudine ac potestate: nec temporum modo terrarumque, sed siderum etiam ipsorum, cœlique rector. Hunc mundi esse totius animum, ac planius mentem: hunc principale naturæ regimen, ac numen credere decet, opera ejus æstimantes. Hic lucem rebus ministrat, aufertque tenebras: hic reliqua sidera occultat, illustrat: hic vices temporum, annumque semper renascentem ex usu naturæ temperat: hic cœli tristitiam discutit, atque etiam humani nubila animi serenat: hic suum lumen ceteris quoque sideribus fenerat. Præclarus, eximius, omnia intuens, omnia etiam exaudiens, ut principi literarum Homero placuisse in uno eo video." — *Hist. Nat.* lib. ii. cap. 6. This description of the sun, as the great vivifying principle of material nature, is diffuse, but extremely fine. In some respects, it bears a considerable resemblance to the passage in the last article, where Sallust represents the mind as incorruptible and eternal, the mover of the human frame, and the governor of human actions.

"Ovium summa genera duo, tectum et colonicum: illud mollius, hoc in pascuo delicatius,

quippe cum tectum rubis vescatur." — Lib. ii. cap. 47. The first kind had the wool soft, curly, and short. The last had it long, thick, and shaggy. The former were called *tectæ oves*, because their carcases were carefully covered to preserve the beauty of their fleeces. We find, therefore, that the modern practice among fashionable breeders and agricultural *dandies*, of dressing their sheep in jackets, is only the revival of an ancient custom: so true is it, that there is nothing new under the sun. The latter were denominated *oves colonicæ*, because they were left to take their chance in the pastures, with no better coat than what Nature in her tailor capacity had provided for them. Yet, *clownish* as they were, they had some advantage over their genteeler brethren: for the ancients had again anticipated us in the notable discovery and important maxim, that, as food, the hardiest sheep make the best mutton.

"Quod alii Orionis, alii Oti fuisse arbitrantur." — Lib vii. cap. 16. These are the names of fabulous giants. There is another reading: *Quod alii Orionis, alii Etionis, &c.* But the most correct editions retain *Oti*. The black letter editions of Pliny write this latter name *Othus*: but the proper orthography is *Otus*. Two historical giants are mentioned by this author, as having appeared in the time of Augustus: — "Pusioni et Secundillæ erant nomina."

Leontium, a courtesan, no very dignified antagonist to an eloquent philosopher, is alluded to by Pliny in the preface to his Natural History, as the woman who wrote against Theophrastus, and gave rise to the proverbial expression in the fol-

lowing passage: — "Ceu vero nesciam, adversus Theophrastum hominem in eloquentia tantum, ut nomen divinum inde invenerit, scripsisse etiam feminam, et proverbium inde natum, suspendio arborem eligendi. Non queo mihi temperare, quominus ad hoc pertinentia ipsa censorii Catonis verba ponam: ut inde appareat, etiam Catoni de Militari disciplina commentanti, qui sub Africano, immo vero et sub Annibale didicisset militare, et ne Africanum quidem ferre potuisset, qui imperator triumphum reportasset, paratos fuisse istos, qui obtrectatione alienæ scientiæ famam sibi aucupantur." Cicero also mentions Leontium as writing against Theophrastus; Epicurus, Metrodorus, and Hermachus against Pythagoras, Plato, and Empedocles. Vegetius speaks of Cato's treatise on military discipline. Livy imputes to Cato an unworthy jealousy of Scipio Africanus, and Pliny here acquaints us that he experienced retaliation in an invidious attack on himself as a writer on military subjects.

The credulity of the ancient compilers of natural history was extreme. What are we to think of Pliny opening the twenty-fifth chapter of his ninth book with such gossips' tales as these? — "Est parvus admodum piscis adsuetus petris, echeneis appellatus: hoc carinis adhærente naves tardius ire creduntur, inde nomine imposito: quam ob causam amatoriis quoque veneficiis infamis est, et judiciorum ac litium mora; quæ crimina una laude pensat, fluxus gravidarum utero sistens, partusque continens ad puerperium."

The following description of cups, fragile in their texture, in the preface to book xxxiii., goes very nearly to represent our modern china: —

" Murrhina et crystallina ex eadem terra effodimus, quibus pretium faceret fragilitas."

The Troglodytes were a people of Ethiopia, below Egypt, so called from their inhabiting subterranean holes and caverns, from the word τρώγλη, a hole, a defile, or a cavern, and δύνω, to enter generally, and specifically, to enter in a crouching and creeping attitude: — " Troglodytæ specus excavant. Hæ illis domus, victus serpentium carnes, stridorque, non vox: adeo sermonis commercio carent: Garamantes matrimoniorum exsortes, passim cum feminis degunt."— Lib. v. cap. 8. Making allowance for Pliny's habitual tendency to the marvellous, these people must have been in the lowest condition of human nature.

PASSAGE FROM ÆLIAN DE NATURA ANIMALIUM.

Ἀποσφάττει μὲν ὁ τοῦ Τυδέως τοὺς Θρᾷκας· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Λαέρτου τοὺς ἀνῃρημένους ὑπάγει τῶν ποδῶν, ἵνα μὴ ποτε νεήλυδες ὄντες οἱ Θρᾷκες ἵπποι, εἶτα μέντοι ἐκπλήττωνται τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐμπλαττόμενοι, καὶ ἀήθως κατ' αὐτῶν, ὥς τινων φοβερῶν βαίνοντες, ἀποσκιρτῶσιν. —Lib. xvi. cap. 25.

The verb ὑπάγει ought in some cases to be rendered in Latin by *subtrahit*, in others by *subjicit*. In the Latin of Schneider's Ælianus de Natura Animalium, it is rightly translated by the former word: the latter sense would have no propriety in connection with the context.

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES FROM AULUS GELLIUS.

"Est etiam ventus nomine *Cæcias*, quem Aristoteles ita flare dicit, ut nubes non procul propellat, sed ut ad sese vocet, ex quo versum istum proverbialem factum ait:

Καχὰ
Ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἵλκων ὡς ὁ Καικίας νέφος.

Præter hos autem, quos dixi, sunt alii plurifariam venti commenticii suæ quisque regionis indigenæ, ut est Horatianus quoque ille *Atabulus*, quos ipse quoque exsequuturus fui: addidissemque eos, qui *Etesiæ* et *Prodromi* appellitantur, qui certo tempore anni, quum canis oritur, ex alia atque alia parte cœli spirant: rationesque omnium vocabulorum, quia plus paulo adbibi, effudissem, nisi multa jam prorsus omnibus vobis reticentibus verba fecissem, quasi fieret a me ἀκρόασις ἐπιδεικτική."—*Noct. Attic.* lib. ii. cap. 22.

There is an allusion to the effects of the wind Cæcias in the Knights of Aristophanes:—

Ὡς οὗτος ἤδη καικίας καὶ συκοφαντίας πνεῖ.

This particular wind is frequent in the Mediterranean, and there called Greco Levante.

The reproof of Herodes Atticus to the pretended and mere outside philosopher, and his subsequent liberality to him, bear some resemblance to the conduct of Hamlet to the players, and his directions to Polonius: — "Tum Herodes interrogat quisnam esset. Atque, ille, vultu sonituque vocis objurgatorio, philosophum sese esse dicit; et mirari quoque addit cur quærendum putasset quod videret. Video, inquit Herodes, barbam et pallium, philosophum nondum video. Quæso autem te, cum bona venia dicas mihi, quibus nos uti posse argumentis existimas, ut esse te philosophum noscitemus? Interibi aliquot ex iis qui cum Herode erant, erraticum hominem esse dicere et nulli rei, incolamque esse sordentium ganearum; ac, nisi accipiat quod petit, convicio turpi solitum incessere: atque ibi Herodes, *Demus*, inquit, *huic aliquid æris, cuicuimodi est; tamquam homines, non tamquam homini*: et jussit dari precium panis triginta dierum."

The word *situs* is applied to burial in general: *sepultus* to the full rites of Roman sepulture, when the body was burnt, the ashes collected, and all the honours duly performed. The custom of inhumation was anterior to that of burning; and the Cornelian family persisted in it without burning within the period of Cicero's remembrance. *Humatus*, therefore, and *situs*, seem to be synonymous; but afterwards *sepultus* was extended to all forms of interment, whether with more or less ceremony; so that *sepultus* was applied to inhumation, though of course neither of the other words could be used for burning and collecting ashes. From the word *situs* comes *siticines*, persons whose profession it was to sing dirges over dead bodies. Our undertakers'

men are *mutes*; equally irrational, but less offensive to the feelings of the real mourners. Aulus Gellius gives the following account of these people, lib. xx. cap. 2.: — "SITICINES, scriptum est in oratione M. Catonis, qua inscribitur, *Ne imperium sit veteri, ubi novus venerit. Siticines*, inquit, *et liticines, et tubicines.* Sed Cæsellius Vindex in Commentariis lectionum antiquarum, scire quidem se ait *liticines* lituo cantare, et *tubicines* tuba: quid istuc autem sit, quo *siticines* cantent, homo ingenuæ veritatis scire sese negat, Nos autem in Capitonis Atei Conjectaneis invenimus, *siticines* appellatos, qui apud sitos canere soliti essent, hoc est, vita functos et sepultos: eosque habuisse proprium genus tubæ, a cæterorum differens."

The ancient writers on natural philosophy applied the word Typhon to that alarming phenomenon the water-spout, not very uncommon at sea, and especially in the Mediterranean. The Vulcanians and Neptunians are, of course, at daggers drawn in their solutions. The former ascribe the agitation of the waters on the surface, to the operation of fire under the bed of the sea. The latter account for it by suction, and illustrate it by the application of cupping glasses to the skin. The same appearance and effects take place, but less frequently, on land. The mischief on those occasions is very extensive: houses are unroofed; birds and even other animals within the influence of the storm, are caught up and dashed with violence against the ground. Aulus Gellius decribes them thus, lib. xix. cap. 1.: — "Tum postea complorantibus nostris omnibus, atque in sentina satis agentibus, dies quidem tandem illuxit: sed

nihil de periculo, neque de sævitia amissum, quin turbines etiam crebriores, et cœlum atrum, et fumigantes globi, et figuræ quædam nubium metuendæ, quas τυφῶνας vocabant, impendere imminereque, ac depressuræ navem videbantur."

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES FROM CICERO.

"NIHIL habet nec fortuna tua majus, quam ut possis; nec natura tua melius, quam ut velis servare quam plurimos." This was addressed to Cæsar, in the oration for Q. Ligarius. A more elegant compliment was never paid.

Cicero justly mentions the following as an instance of weakness in a great man: but surely Cicero might have looked at home: — "Leviculus sane noster Demosthenes, qui illo susurro delectari se dicebat aquam ferentis mulierculæ, ut mos in Græcia est, insusurrantisque alteri, Hic est ille Demosthenes. Quid hoc levius? At quantus orator? Sed apud alios loqui videlicet didicerat, non multum ipse secum." — *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. v. cap. 36.

Erskine in his glory would probably have been no less delighted with the admiration of a milkmaid. Diogenes Laertius tells us, that Diogenes the Cynic once administered to the great orator's vanity, by pointing him out with his finger to some strangers who had expressed a great desire to see him: but this was only done in mockery; and we are not told that Demosthenes was deceived by it, or that he betrayed any pleasure in the curiosity of the strangers.

Zeno, the founder and leader of the Stoic sect, was in the habit of applying this whimsical illustration: that eloquence and logic were respectively like the open hand and the closed fist; inasmuch as the aim of the orator was to give his arguments all the extension and amplification possible, that of the logician to propound them in terms the most strict and narrow: — "Zenonis est, inquam, hoc Stoici. omnem vim loquendi, ut jam ante Aristoteles, in duas tributam esse partes; rhetoricam, palmæ; dialecticam, pugno similem esse dicebat, quod latius loquerentur rhetores, dialectici autem compressius."— *De Finibus*, lib. ii.

Of all the miserable and ludicrous superstitions which the enlightened and politic priesthood and augural college of Rome palmed on the ignorant simplicity of the vulgar, the humbug of the *Tripudium solistimum* and the mountebank character of the *Pullarius* seem to be the perfection of folly and impudence: — "Quæ aves? aut, ubi? Attulit, inquit, in cavea pullos is, qui ex eo ipso nominatur pullarius. Hæ sunt igitur aves internuntiæ Jovis: quæ pascantur, necne, quid refert? nihil ad auspicia: sed quia, cum pascuntur, necesse est, aliquid ex ore cadere, et terram pavire, terripavium primo, post terripudium dictum est: hoc quidem jam tripudium dicitur. cum igitur offa cecidit ex ore pulli, tum auspicanti tripudium solistimum nuntiant." — *De Divinat.* lib. ii

The name of Moneta was given to Juno by the Romans *a monendo*: — "Atque etiam scriptum a multis est, cum terræ motus factus esset, *Ut sue plena procuratio fieret*, vocem ab æde Junonis ex arce exstitisse: quocirca Junonem illam appellatam Monetam." — *Cic. de Divinat.* lib. i. This

temple of Juno Moneta was on the descent from the capitol, and in consequence of the mint being afterwards established near the same spot, the pieces coined there took the name of Moneta: and to this trivial accident do we trace the etymology of that universal and important word, money.

POETICAL GENEALOGIES AND EXPLOITS OF FABULOUS PERSONAGES.

PORPHYRION was the son of Sisyphus. He is mentioned by Claudian in his Gigantomachy:—

> Ecce autem medium spiris delapsus in æquor,
> Porphyrion trepidam conatur rumpere Delon,
> Scilicet ad superos ut torqueat improbus axes:
> Horruit Ægæus: stagnantibus exsilit antris
> Longævo cum patre Thetis; desertaque mansit
> Ripa Neptuni, famulis veneranda profundis.

Damastor is another of the giants, in some authors improperly called *Adamastor*, also mentioned in the Gigantomachy of Claudian:—

> Ille, procul subitis fixus sine vulnere nodis,
> Ut se letifero sensit durescere visu,
> (Et steterat jam pæne lapis) "Quo vertimur?" inquit:
> "Quæ serpit per membra silex? qui torpor inertem
> Marmorea me peste ligat?" Vix pauca locutus,
> Quod timuit, jam totus erat: sævusque Damastor,
> Ad depellendos jaculum dum quæreret hostes,
> Germani rigidum misit, pro rupe, cadaver.

Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius, and Freinshemius, on Quintus Curtius, make King Porus out to be an actual giant.

Merlin, in his second macaronic, describes the giant Fracassus in the following terms :—

Primus erat quidam Fracassus prole gigantis,
Cujus stirps olim Morganto venit ab illo,
Qui Bacchiozonem campana ferre solebat,
Cum quo mille hominum colpos fracasset in uno.

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES FROM PERSIUS.

Tun', vetule, auriculis alienis colligis escas?
Auriculis! quibus et dicas cute perditus, Ohe.
" Quo didicisse, nisi hoc fermentum, et quæ semel intus
" Innata est, rupto jecore exierit caprificus?"
En pallor, seniumque! O mores, usque adeone
Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter!
" At pulchrum est, digito monstrari, et dicier, Hic est.
" Ten' cirratorum centum dictata fuisse,
" Pro nihilo pendas?" Ecce, inter pocula, quærunt
Romulidæ saturi, quid dia poemata narrent!

Sat. 1.

It is evident throughout his works, how closely Persius imitated Horace. Many hints are taken from him in the passage above transcribed, and in the following lines which previously occur:—

Nam Romæ quis non — ? Ah, si fas dicere! Sed fas
Tunc, cum ad canitiem, et nostrum istud vivere triste,
Aspexi, et nucibus facimus quæcunque relictis:
Cum sapimus patruos — tunc, tunc ignoscite.

The obscurity of Persius arises principally from the necessity he lay under, being determined not to compromise morality by courtly obsequiousness,

so to clothe his satire, writing as he did in the reign of Nero, that what modern lawyers technically term the innuendos should not be too obvious. He was obliged to express himself in allusion rather than in direct attack. Thus in the passage above quoted, he takes aim from behind a bush at the emperor himself, who had ordered his poems to be taught to the curly-pated young nobility in their elementary schools.

The practice of teaching parrots and magpies to speak certain common words, as *salve*, *ave*, and others, and to appropriate them to the seasons of meeting and parting, was known to the ancients as well as to ourselves. Hunger is supposed to be the powerful engine by which this feat is accomplished. The reward of good, in very small portions, is bestowed on their efforts at articulation. Persius illustrated the fate of scribblers by this allusion, whose necessities drive them to writing verses as mechanically, and with as little meaning, as parrots and magpies utter and even time articulate sounds, by mere dint of habit, without a spark of meaning: —

> Quis expedivit psittaco suum χαῖρε?
> Picasque docuit verba nostra conari?
> Magister artis, ingenîque largitor
> Venter, negatas artifex sequi voces.

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES FROM MODERN AUTHORS.

The President de Thou, lib. 113. on the year 1595, describes the usages of the Penitential at Rome, and the solemnities held when Henry the Fourth of France sent his two proxies to undergo his penance, and bring back his absolution. The royal heretic and renegade, more guilty than the mob of sinners, and therefore deserving severer punishment, was not slow to discover, that however it may be with geometry, there is a royal road to absolution. *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.* On this principle, our James the First, though subject in all other respects to the severe discipline of Scotland, was allowed to have his whipping-boy. Henry's proxies are introduced with the following ceremonial: — "Inde ad solium deducti; cum capite demisso rursus in genua procubuissent, Psalmus 50 recitatur, ad cujus singulos versiculos Pontifex virgula quasi vindicta, qua ut olim servi apud Romanos manumittebantur, sic nunc peccatis nexi per absolutionem in libertatem Christianam asseruntur, leviter supplices procuratores tangebat."

Budæus, lib. 5. of his treatise De Asse, institutes a comparison between Crœsus and Midas, and explains the asses' ears with which that Phrygian

tyrant was endowed, to have been typical of the spies and emissaries he kept in pay:—"At ille calamitate et summo atque ignominioso vitæ discrimine inclaruit, hic auribus asininis non aureis innotuit. Ex eo enim in proverbium venit, quod multos otacustas, id est auricularios et emissarios haberet, rumorum captatores et sermonum delatores, cujusmodi habere solent principes mali qui stimulante conscientia securi esse nequeunt." Caracalla, for whom every act of tyranny in past times formed a precedent, and every instrument, and every engine, which could play upon the meanness of jealousy, whether fabulous or practical, was an object of desire, not only consulted impostors of every description, among the foremost wizards and astrologers, for the discovery of conspiracies against his life; but expressed a sincere longing for such a pair of ears, as could take in every word uttered about him, of whatever character or tendency.

In the Scaligerana, on the word Κοσμήτωρ, the great critic gives the following etymological meaning, founded on Homer:—"Κοσμήτωρ *ut* ἁρμοστὴς, *præfectum significabant*," that is, the governor of a country, embracing the presidency over both judicial and military affairs. "Κοσμεῖν *enim et* ἁρμόζειν *verba sunt politica, quæ administrare remp. (non autem ornare) proprie significabant, ut apud* Hom. *Iliad.* 1. Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δύω Κοσμήτορε λαῶν."

The Popes Alexander VI. and Julius II. have been satirised by the poets of their time, for appearing in the field of battle and at sieges in armour and military array. Julius II., in 1511, exhibited himself with helmet and breastplate, to hasten a siege which his generals did not press so vigorously as

he wished. A satirist warns the soldiery to be cautious in their fury, lest they should hit a Pope by a random shot. Julius is meant by the septuagenarian priest and the most holy father, in the following passage: — "Num tandem ex æde charitatis, aut fidei sacello ancylia prompserat, et signa cruciata? Ecquid eum pudebat servum Dei se vocare, cum Franciam Christianorum decus, et pontificum olim, religionisque asylum, bustis ipse gallicis insigni re gestiret, cum sacerdos septuagenarius Bellonæ sacris operaretur, cui generis humani luculento dispendio litare contendebat, tum cum profanum vulgus ad delubra pacis, et concordiæ miserabili specie supplicationes inibat? Enimvero visendum spectaculum, patrem non modo sanctissimum, sed etiam senio et canicie spectabilem, quasi ad tumultum gallicum e Bellonæ fano suos evocatos cientem, non trebea, non augustis insignibus venerandum, non pontificiis gestaminibus sacrosanctum, sed paludamento, et cultu barbarico conspicuum, sed furiali, ut ita dicam, confidentia succinctum, fulminibus illis brutis et inanibus luridum, eminente in truci vultu cultuque spirituum atrocitate."—*Budæus, de Asse*, lib. 4.

Merlin Coccaius, macaronic S., has a long list of attributes to particular characters and professions, quaintly expressed in single hexameters. The following are amongst the number:—

Est Monachæ, quando moritur, maledire parentes
Ast est soldati numerosa per arma necari.

M. de Thou gives the following account of the first voyage to Canada and Newfoundland: — "Anno præteriti sæculi 34. et sequente Jacobus Cartesius Francisco I. Rege ad eas partes navigare institit, cujus et relationes extant."

Budæus, in the first book of his treatise De Asse, defines the place of what he called the Hypogeum, or the precisely calculated centre of the earth :— "Prædictis quatuor genethliaci etiam cardines quatuor addunt, ortum scilicet et occasum, et mesuranium quod et mesuranema dicitur (vocabulum ubique in Firmico depravatum) hoc est locus medii cœli, et huic oppositum locum quod hypogeon dicitur, hoc est punctum subterraneum inter ortum occasumque medium."

Cœlius Rhodiginus, chap. 4. of the twenty-third book of his Lectiones, thus brings together some of the leading philosophers as co-operating, by apparently different but really similar means, to the attainment of the one end: — "Quæ sane ratio admiranda Zoroastri veterum theologorum principi, Arimaspem conciliavit, Æsculapium Mercurio, Orpheo Musæum, Pythagoræ Aglaophemum, Platoni Dionem prius, mox et Xenocratem: qui omnes numine illustrante, opere uno, ad metam unam tanquam eodem calle ad eundem itineris festinarunt terminum."

The Corybantes, ministers of the goddess Cybele, were supposed to have slept with their eyes open, when they were set to watch Jupiter, for fear of his being swallowed by Saturn. A notable expedient! We are told that their name is derived "ἀπὸ τοῦ κορύττειν, quod capita saltando jactarent, aut a pupillis oculorum, quæ Græci κόρας vocant, quippe qui cum Jovis custodes essent, non modo excubare, sed etiam apertis oculis dormire cogerentur."—*Ex Jos. Scalig. in castigat. ad Catull.* From their eternal drumming also, a disease of the ears accompanied with continual ringing was called corybantism.

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES FROM HOMER.

Ἠματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἱκοίμην.
Ἔστι δέ μοι μάλα πολλὰ, τὰ κάλλιπον ἐνθάδε ἔρρων·
Ἄλλον δ' ἐνθένδε χρυσὸν καὶ χαλκὸν ἐρυθρὸν,
Ἠδὲ γυναῖκας ἐϋζώνους, πολιόν τε σίδηρον
Ἄξομαι, ἄσσ' ἔλαχόν γε. *Iliad.* lib. ix.

THE French critics, in their remarks on Homer, are apt to refine too much; as indeed they do in every thing they attempt. Monsieur de la Motte objects to the calculation of the time the voyage to Phthia would take, and the enumeration of the property he should find there, with the additional acquisitions of the war, as too minute and circumstantial for the impassioned character of the speaker. But this surely is hypercriticism. It was perfectly natural, and equally consistent with his temper however impetuous or resentful, to impress it on the minds of the ambassadors, by arguing on the amplitude of his means and the facility of the voyage, that he would carry his threat of returning home into actual execution, and leave Agamemnon to the consequences of his own insolence and injustice. He says that his riches are already

sufficient to prevent him from entertaining a thought of accepting the offered presents.

Ogilby's couplet, to express the first line of this passage in translation, is ludicrously ungrammatical: —

> And, if great Neptune grant a prosperous gale,
> We the third day shall fertile Phthia sail.

The following passage deserves to be pointed out, for the sake of a just and discriminate distinction taken by Plutarch, between boasting and real courage, and illustrated by this very passage in point: —

> Τοιοῦτοι δ' εἴπερ μοι ἐείκοσιν ἀντεβόλησαν,
> Πάντες ἄν αὐτόθ' ὄλοντο, ἐμῷ ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμέντες·
> Ἀλλά με μοῖρ' ὀλοὴ, καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱὸς,
> Ἀνδρῶν δ' Εὔφορβος· σὺ δέ με τρίτος ἐξεναρίζεις.
>
> *Iliad.* lib. xvi.

The criticism occurs in Plutarch's discussion, Qua quis Ratione seipse sine Invidia laudet: — *Ὥσπερ οὖν τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν ἐπαιρομένους καὶ ὑψαυχενοῦντας ἀνοήτους ἡγούμεθα καὶ κενούς· ἂν δὲ πυκτεύοντες ἢ μαχόμενοι διεγείρωσι καὶ ἀναγάγωσιν ἑαυτοὺς, ἐπαινοῦμεν· οὕτως ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ τύχης σφαλλόμενος, ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὀρθὸν καθιστὰς καὶ ἀντίπαλον,*

> Πύκτης ὅπως εἰς χεῖρας,

ἐκ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ οἰκτροῦ τῇ μεγαλαυχίᾳ μεταφέρων εἰς τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ὑψηλὸν, οὐκ ἐπαχθὴς οὐδὲ θρασὺς, ἀλλὰ μέγας εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ ἀήττητος· ὅς που καὶ τὸν Πάτροκλον ὁ ποιητὴς μέτριον

καὶ ἀνεπίφθονον ἐν τῷ κατορθοῦν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευτᾷν μεγαλήγορον ἐποίησε λέγοντα,

Τοιοῦτοι δ' εἶπερ μοι ἐείκοσιν ἀντεβόλησαν.

It has been justly remarked, that the earliest specimen of every style is to be found in Homer. However his critics may differ in opinion on the subject, he thought it consistent with epic dignity to introduce passages of humour, involving his most respectable characters in ludicrous circumstances, when the course of incidents has temporarily degraded them from their high station, given physic to their pomp, and exposed them to feel what wretches feel: —

Τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·
Δαιμόνι', οὔτε τί σε ῥέζω κακὸν, οὔτ' ἀγορεύω,
Οὔτε τινὰ φθονέω δόμεναι, καὶ πόλλ' ἀνελόντα.
Οὐδὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρους ὅδε χείσεται· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ
Ἀλλοτρίων φθονέειν· δοκέεις δέ μοι εἶναι ἀλήτης,
Ὡς περ ἐγών· ὄλβον δὲ Θεοὶ μέλλουσιν ὀπάζειν.
Χερσὶ δὲ μήτι λίην προκαλίζεο, μή με χολώσῃς,
Μή σε, γέρων περ ἐὼν, στῆθος καὶ χείλεα φύρσω
Αἵματος· ἠσυχίη δ' ἂν ἐμοὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτ' εἴη
Αὔριον· οὐ μὲν γάρ τί σ' ὑποστρέψεσθαι ὀΐω
Δεύτερον ἐς μέγαρον Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος·
Τὸν δὲ χολωσάμενος προσεφώνεεν Ἶρος ἀλήτης·
Ὦ πόποι, ὡς ὁ μολοβρὸς ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγορεύει,
Γρηῒ καμινοῖ ἶσος· ὃν ἂν κακὰ μητισαίμην,
Κόπτων ἀμφοτέρῃσι, χαμαὶ δ' ἐκ πάντας ὀδόντας
Γναθμῶν ἐξελάσαιμι, συὸς ὣς ληϊβοτείρης.
Ζῶσαι νῦν, ἵνα πάντες ἐπιγνώωσι καὶ οἵδε
Μαρναμένους· πῶς δ' ἂν σὺ νεωτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ μάχοιο;

Ὡς οἱ μὲν προπάροιθε θυράων ὑψηλάων
Οὐδοῦ ἐπὶ ξεστοῦ πανθυμαδὸν ὀχριόωντο.
Τοῖϊν δὲ ξυνέηχ' ἱερὸν μένος Ἀντινόοιο,
Ἡδὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐκγελάσας μετεφώνεε μνηστήρεσσιν.

Odyss. lib. xviii.

An English farmer would be surprised to hear that the modern practice of pounding cattle might be considered as a refinement on a very ancient custom, of barbarous severity, but a radical cure for trespassing. Ælian thus describes it, De Nat. Animal. lib. v. cap. 45.: — Ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ χλωροῦ σίτου καὶ ληΐου κομῶντος ἐὰν σῦς πεσοῦσα ἀποκείρῃ, νόμος ἐστὶ Σαλαμινίων τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐκτρίβειν αὐτῆς· καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ, Συὸς ληϊβοτείρης, φασιν. As Ælian represents this as the law of Salamis, so Homer testifies to its use among the Ithacans: and we are farther informed, that it was a custom among the people of Cyprus. The inference therefore seems to be, that it was a general practice.

The manner of the single combat is well exemplified in this curious scene. The champions are represented as fighting naked, but decently girding the loins: —

Αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
Ζώσατο μὲν ῥάκεσιν περὶ μήδεα, φαῖνε δὲ μηροὺς
Καλούς τε, μεγάλους τε, φάνεν δέ οἱ εὐρέες ὦμοι,
Στήθεά τε, στιβαροί τε βραχίονες· αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη
Ἄγχι παρισταμένη μέλε' ἤλδανε ποιμένι λαῶν.
Μνηστῆρες δ' ἄρα πάντες ὑπερφιάλως ἀγάσαντο·
Ὧδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον·
Ἦ τάχα Ἶρος ἄϊρος ἐπίσπαστον κακὸν ἕξει·
Οἵην ἐκ ῥακέων ὁ γέρων ἐπιγουνίδα φαίνει.

Ὡς ἄρ' ἔφαν· Ἶρῳ δὲ κακῶς ἀρίνετο θυμός·
Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς δρηστῆρες ἄγον ζώσαντες ἀνάγκῃ,
Δειδιότα· σάρκες δὲ περιτρομέοντο μέλεσσιν.
Ἀντίνοος δ' ἐνένιπτεν, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ', ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν·
Νῦν μὲν μήτ' εἴης, βουγάϊε, μήτε γένοιο,
Εἰ δὴ τοῦτόν γε τρομέεις καὶ δείδιας αἰνῶς,
Ἄνδρα γέροντα, δύῃ ἀρημένον, ἤ μιν ἱκάνει.
Ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται,
Αἴ κέν σ' οὗτος νικήσῃ, κρείσσων τε γένηται,
Πέμψω σ' Ἠπειρόνδε, βαλὼν ἐν νηῒ μελαίνῃ,
Εἰς Ἔχετον βασιλῆα, βροτῶν δηλήμονα πάντων,
Ὅς κ' ἀπὸ ῥῖνα τάμῃσι καὶ οὔατα νηλεῖ χαλκῷ,
Μήδεά τ' ἐξερύσας, δώῃ κυσίν ὠμὰ δάσασθαι.

One might almost imagine that Homer was amusing himself here in parodying his own more serious duels. The brevity of the speeches, and the conciseness of the periods, pleasantly remind us of the style devoted to the anger of Achilles, and practically illustrate the principle, that every passion betrays its appropriate nature in its language, whatever may be its circumstances, or whatever individual it may inform. Ulysses girds his own strong loins with his rags: Diomede, in the Iliad, performs the same office of the cincture to his friend Euryalus, before his combat with Epæus.

The Phœnicians were the great artists and navigators of the ancient world. It is supposed that they were expelled from their country by Joshua, that they settled on the sea-coasts, and colonised extensively in the three known quarters of the globe. The force of the epithet ναυσίκλυτος is, famed for the number of his ships; keeping up a large fleet.

The following adventure is told with all the elegance of Ovid: —

Ἔνθα δὲ Φοίνικες ναυσίκλυτοι ἦλυθον ἄνδρες
Τρῶκται, μυρί' ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηὶ μελαίνῃ.
Ἔσκε δὲ πατρὸς ἐμοῖο γυνὴ Φοίνισσ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,
Καλή τε μεγάλη τε, καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' εἰδυῖα·
Τὴν δ' ἄρα Φοίνικες πολυπαίπαλοι ἠπερόπευον·
Πλυνούσῃ τις πρῶτα μίγη, κοίλῃ παρὰ νηΐ,
Εὐνῇ καὶ φιλότητι· τά τε φρένας ἠεροπεύει
Θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξὶ, καὶ εἴ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔῃσιν.
Εἰρώτα δὴ ἔπειτα, τίς εἴη, κἀὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι·
Ἡ δὲ μάλ' αὐτίκα πατρὸς ἐπέφραδεν ὑψερεφὲς δῶ.

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES FROM PLAUTUS.

Plautus, in the last scene of the Trinummus, thus describes the connection between inward feeling and outward expression: —

> Si quid stulte fecit, ut ea missa faciat omnia.
> Quid quassas caput? Ch. Conciatur cor mihi, et metuo.

The practice of unction was adopted by the Greeks and Romans on a variety of occasions: at gymnastic exercises, after public or private bathing, medicinally, and at banquets and festivals as a luxury. This custom at the bath is mentioned in Pœnulo: —

> Quid multa verba? faciam, ubi tu laveris,
> Ubi ut balneator faciat unguentariam.
> Sed hæc latrocinantur quæ ego dixi omnia.

The literal meaning of *latrocinantur* is, those who serve in war for pay.

I have already remarked on the Miser of Plautus at considerable length: but I cannot refrain from adding the following passage, in which Euclio suspects that even the cock had been suborned by

the cooks to scratch for his pot of crowns, and executes summary justice on him accordingly: —

Condigne etiam meus me intus gallus gallinaceus,
Qui erat anui peculiaris, perdidit pænissume.
Ubi erat hæc defossa, occœpit ibi scalpurire ungulis
Circumcirca: quid opus est verbis? ita mihi pectus peracuit:
Capio fustem, obtrunco gallum, furem manifestarium.
Credo ego edepol illi mercedem gallo pollicitos coquos,
Si id palam fecisset. exemi e manu manubrium.
Quid opus est verbis? facta est pugna in gallo gallinaceo.
Sed Megadorus meus affinis eccum incedit a foro.

PASSAGE FROM TACITUS.

When we are told lib. iii. Annal. that Agrippina, "postquam duobus cum liberis, feralem urnam tenens, egressa navi, defixit oculos," &c. it seems from the testimony of concurrent historians, that the two children of Germanicus were Caligula, who went with his father into the East; and Julia, who was born in the Isle of Lesbos.

PASSAGE FROM QUINCTILIAN.

THE great Roman authority, on the subject of education, was nearly as general in his system as those of the moderns who object to our public schools and universities, as being too confined and exclusive. He evidently wishes young students to revolve round all the sciences : — " Hæc de *Grammatica*, quam brevissime potui, non ut omnia dicerem sectatus, quod infinitum erat; sed ut maxime necessaria : nunc de cæteris artibus, quibus instituendos prius, quam tradantur rhetori, pueros existimo, strictim subjungam, ut efficiatur orbis ille doctrinæ, quam Græci ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν vocant." — *Quinct.* lib. i. ch. 10.

PASSAGE FROM ARISTOPHANES.

ARISTOPHANES is the most artful of satirists. He slides almost imperceptibly from general sarcasm to personalities. Before he particularises Socrates and his disciples by name, he sets their doctrines in an invidious light, and describes what he represents as their sophistry, to consist in injury to the state, by the evasion of the laws, and fraud on individuals by bilking their creditors.

> Ψυχῶν σοφῶν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ φροντιστήριον.
> Ἐνταῦθ' ἐνοικοῦσ' ἄνδρες, οἳ τὸν οὐρανὸν
> Λέγοντες ἀναπείθουσιν, ὡς ἔστιν πνιγεὺς,
> Καᾶστιν περὶ ἡμᾶς οὗτος· ἡμεῖς δ' ἄνθρακες.
> Οὗτοι διδάσκουσ', ἀργύριον ἤν τις διδᾷ,
> Λέγοντα νικᾶν καὶ δίκαια κἄδικα.

The φροντιστήριον here mentioned is a school, or large establishment, of which many persons are inmates, living on a footing of common interests, without exclusive property, and for the purpose of cultivating literature and philosophy. We here see the germ of monastic institutions.

THE END.

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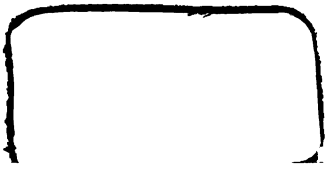
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